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W. W. Greg, *Gen. Ed.*

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\* \* \* Except where otherwise stated the responsibility for  
contributions rests with the General Editor.



## NOTES ON THE SOCIETY'S PUBLICATIONS

DURING the years 1910 and 1911 the Society has issued ten plays to its members. The five for 1910 are *Tom Tyler and his Wife*, reprinted from the second, but earliest known, edition, dated 1661, Peele's *Arraignment of Paris*, 1584, Lodge's *Wounds of Civil War*, 1594, *A Knack to Know an Honest Man*, 1596, and the anonymous *Birth of Hercules* from MS. Add. 28722 at the British Museum. The plays for 1911 are *Apilus and Virginia* by R. B., 1575, Peele's *Edward I*, 1593, and the anonymous *George a Green*, 1599, *Caesar's Revenge*, of which one issue is dated 1607, and *Sir Thomas Moore* from MS. Harl. 7368.

With regard to the first of these, *Tom Tyler*, an important piece of evidence has since been discovered by Mr. Arundell Esdaile. It consists of the following entry made in the Stationers' Register towards the end of the year July 1562 to July 1563: 'Recevyd of Thomas Colwell for his lycense of pryntinge of these ballettes folowyng/one of husbondes and suche husbondry/as Townes and Countreyes Dayly Doth Dyscrye/and other of the godly and constante wyse Susanna/and other of cheldryns thoughtes/and other byrche and grene hollye/and other of loue/and other a songe of my lorde Courtenay and an other of [a] mayde/and other of the lamentation of lady Iane/and an other of tom Tyler iij<sup>s</sup>' (Arber's Transcript, I. 210). It is of course quite possible that the *Tom Tyler* here entered really was a ballad, probably on the same subject as the interlude and possibly even taken from it. There are, however, other instances of interludes being entered as ballads, for at this period the fees had not yet been differentiated and there was no motive

for accurate discrimination on the part of the Company's clerk. Since then the date, 1563, agrees so closely with that required, 'about a hundred Years' before 1661, we may reasonably accept this as the actual entry of the play until either a ballad on the subject or another entry is discovered. The identification of the present entry was indeed suggested by Collier, whose note on the subject (*Extracts from the Registers of the Stationers' Company*, i. 74) the General Editor must confess to having overlooked.

The editor of the Society's reprint of *Tom Tyler*, Professor G. C. Moore Smith, has kindly supplied the following note on the language of the piece:—'The play contains a number of words and phrases which are rare or present difficulty, even with the help given in the case of some of them by the N.E.D. For example: 'The Pigs in the puddle' (l. 135), 'a sight of good guesse' (l. 149), 'busk together' (l. 178), 'By gods blew hood' (l. 184), 'tell your stones' (l. 197), 'chance' (? = 'a good idea!' —l. 215), 'stout it' (l. 274), tailor's 'hell' (ll. 315 et seqq. The first example of this use in the N.E.D. is from Greene, 1592), 'dostard' (l. 352), 'alife' (l. 397. The first example in the N.E.D. is of 1601), 'stroke' (l. 436), 'behide' (l. 441. The N.E.D. has no example of 'behid' = 'hid' after 1225, nor of 'behied' = 'hastened' after 1425), 'went out of square' (l. 466), 'die for thought' (= 'die on account of too much thinking', l. 510), 'new' (l. 536, cp. l. 670), 'He watched ye once for ever' (l. 539), 'hardly' (? = 'promptly', l. 546), 'tibs' (l. 594), 'tossor' (l. 645), 'wring' (? = 'writhe', l. 668), 'trifeler' (l. 694), 'pack it' (? = 'put up with it', l. 800), 'set at thy heart' (= 'take to heart', l. 807), 'muskadine' (l. 814), 'disposed' (? = 'is disposed', l. 830), 'to thee' (? = 'I say to thee', l. 878), 'may the candel carry' (l. 894), 'varry' (? = 'hesitate', 'refuse', l. 895).'

Concerning the *Arraignment of Paris* there seems nothing to add to what has been already said. The obvious companion to it, the *Hunting of Cupid*, is unfortunately only known from fragments: these, such as they are, will be found collected in the present volume.

The close literary relationship of Lodge's *Wounds of Civil War* with Marlowe's writings is of course obvious, the resemblances with *Tamburlaine* and *Edward II* being particularly close. As an instance of the connexion Mr. C. Crawford cites the lines from the last named play :

Immortall powers, that knowes the painfull cares,  
That waites vpon my poore distressed soule,  
O leuell all your lookes vpon these daring men (*Edw.* ll. 2302-4)

for comparison with :

Immortall powers that know the painefull cares,  
That waight vpon my poore distressed hart,  
O bend your browes and leuill all your lookes  
Of dreadfull awe vpon these daring men (*Wounds*, ll. 1814-17).

The title of *A Knack to Know an Honest Man*, as has been said, is an obvious imitation of *A Knack to Know a Knaue*. This was a very popular play and a good many allusions to the title may be traced, if we assume that it was not merely a current proverbial phrase. It is possible that both plays may be alluded to in the title: 'The Triall of true Friendship; Or perfect mirror, wherby to discerne a trustie friend from a flattering Parasite. Otherwise, a knacke to know a knaue from an honest man. By a perfit mirrour of both . . . By M. B.', : pamphlet issued by Valentine Simmes in 1596.

Turning to the plays of 1911 we come first to the early *Apilus and Virginia*. With regard to this the editor, Dr. R. B. McKerrow, writes: 'The play is stated to have probably been acted as early as 1563 (Collier in Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, iv. 107. Fleay, *Stage*, p. 61), but there appears to be no evidence. It has been conjectured that the initials R. B. stand for Richard Bower, who was master of the Chapel children in 1559 (Fleay *Biog. Chron.*, i. 27). Evidence for or against the attribution of the play to him seems to be entirely wanting. It should, however, be pointed out that as Bower had been buried at Greenwich in 1561 (C. C. Stopes, *William Hunnis*, 1910, pp. 145-6

and Stow's *London*, ed. Strype, 1720, app. i, p. 92), he cannot, as Fleay suggested, have been a master at Westminster in 1563, nor would there presumably have been much reason for concealing his name in 1575. There were several other writers at about this date who had the same initials, but there seems to be nothing which should lead us to identify the author of *Appius and Virginia* with any of them. An R. B. in 1576 introduced to the public George Pettie's *Petite Palace of Pleasure*, which contains the story of Appius and Virginia, but the play and the novel appear to be entirely unconnected. So far as I am aware there are no early allusions to the play, although according to Fleay it was ridiculed in *Love's Labour's Lost* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (Fleay, *Stage*, p. 61). In modern times the first critic to have seen a copy of it would appear to have been Coxeter (Baker, *Biog. Dram.*, 1812, i (2), 560; cf. p. lxxiv).

As to *Edward I* it should perhaps be mentioned that Fleay (*Biographical Chronicle*, ii. 157) supposes the piece to have been acted by Strange's men, on the ground of a supposed allusion to Shakespeare in l. 761. The passage, which he misquotes, by no means calls for the interpretation he puts upon it. But, nevertheless, supposing the play to be identical with Henslowe's *Longshanks*, and seeing that that piece was the private property of Edward Alleyn, there is nothing unlikely in the supposition that Strange's men may have been the original owners. The sources of the play, in chronicles and ballads, have been fully discussed in dissertations by W. Thierne (Halle, 1903) and E. Kroneberg (Jena, 1903).

One point regarding *George a Green* calls for comment, namely, the two manuscript notes on the title-page of the Duke of Devonshire's copy. It has sometimes been supposed—by the General Editor among others—that these notes were no older than J. P. Collier. A careful inspection, however, has dispelled all doubt on the subject, and it may be added that their genuineness is attested in a letter from Sir E. A. Bond, formerly principal librarian of the British Museum, which is now inserted in the copy at Chatsworth. A further interesting

point arises in connexion with the interpretation to be placed on the second of these notes. It runs: 'Ed. Iuby saith that the play was made by Ro. Gree...' Concerning this Dr. R. B. McKerrow writes as follows:

'It may be worth while to point out that there is a possible, though perhaps hardly probable, explanation of this curious note which seems to have been entirely overlooked. It depends on the obsolete use of 'by' in the sense of 'after' or 'in allusion to'. We find the word thus used in such passages as 'Let it [a town] be term'd *Enca*, by your [Aeneas'] name.'—'Rather *Ascania*, by your little sonne.' (*Dido*, F2v), or 'Talke I of a . . . wolfe, a fox, or a camelion, any lording whom they do not affect it is meant by' (*Nashes Lenten Stuffle*, I3v). An example in which we have the actual phrase 'made by' occurs in *A Knack to Know a Knave* (Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, vi. 565):

And from his pocket straight he drew this counterfeit,  
And said 'twas made by beauteous Alfrida.

i.e. that it was a portrait of her.

Now one of the central incidents of *George a Green*, and one which was most likely to take the popular fancy, is that in which George compels Sir Nicholas Mannering to eat, seals and all, a commission which he has brought from the Earl of Kendal. It so happens that a similar incident is recorded of Robert Greene by Nashe (*Strange Newes*, C3v): 'I sawe him [Greene] make an Appariter once in a Tauern eate his Citation, waxe and all, very handsomly seru'd twixt two dishes.'

Robert Greene was a well-known figure in his day and was undoubtedly much talked of after his death. Is it not possible that Juby fancied that the incident of George a Green and Mannering in the play had been suggested by Robert Greene's treatment of the apparitor;<sup>1</sup> and that the true meaning of the

<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately the manuscript of the romance on which the play is based is undated, so that we do not know exactly when this incident found its way into the story—but in any case Juby would hardly have troubled about a point like

note is not that the play was written by Greene, but that it was aimed at him or made use of incidents of his life? It is true that such an explanation supposes both Juby and the writer of the note to have been persons of no great intelligence, but we must remember that we are not dealing with the researches of serious critics but merely with a rough and careless note of what was probably a scrap of theatrical gossip picked up in a pot-house.

As some slight support for the proposed interpretation it might perhaps be argued that the note is hardly in the form which we should have expected it to take if it had been intended either as a correction or as an expansion of the note higher on the page—and one or other of these it must certainly be if it is meant to bear upon the authorship. To me at least it seems rather to have been jotted down as a scrap of entirely independent information. But a point like this is, and must remain, a matter of individual opinion.'

The main interest of *Caesar's Revenge* is the relation it bears to the dramatic and poetic production of the early nineties of the sixteenth century. The resemblances to the plays both of Marlowe and Kyd are many and obvious, and no attempt will be made here to enumerate them. A few less obvious reminiscences, which have been pointed out by Mr. Charles Crawford, may be suitably recorded, as they help to fix the date of composition. One of the most striking is to the opening of Daniel's *Rosamond*, first published in 1592:

Out from the horror of infernall deepes,  
My poore afflicted ghost comes here to plain it;

compare:

· Out of the horror of those shady vaultes, . . .  
My restles soule comes heere to tell his wronges (ll. 1974-7).

this, any more than he would about the anachronism of introducing contemporary incidents into a play dated some centuries before.

Again compare:

A stately Pallace, whose fayre doble gates :  
Are wrought with garnish'd Carued Iuory,  
And stately pillars of pure bullion framd.  
With Orient Pearles and Indian stones imbost (ll. 849-52);

with :

The royall riches and exceeding cost,  
Of euery pillour and of euery post ;  
Which all of purest bullion framed were,  
And with great pearles and pretious stones embost  
(Spenser, *Faery Queen*, III. i. 32) :

or consider :

The purple *Hyacinth* of *Phæbus* Land :  
Fresh *Amarinthus* that doth neuer die,  
And faire *Narcissus* decre resp[1]endent shoars (ll. 900-2) ;

which seems a merely bungled recollection of :

Fresh *Hyacinthus*, *Phæbus* paramoure,  
Foolish [*N*]arcisse, that likes the watry shore,  
Sad *Amaranthus*, made a flowre but late  
(*Faery Queen*, III. vi. 45) ;

or again compare :

Most prudent heads, that with your counsels wise,  
The pillars of the mighty *Rome* sustaine, . . .  
And *Rome* that whilom wont to Tiranize,  
And in the necks of all the world hath rang'd (ll. 948-54) ;

with :

Those prudent heads, that with their counsels wise  
Whyloin the Pillours of th'earth did sustaine,  
And taught ambitious *Rome* to tyrannise,  
And in the neck of all the world to rayne  
(*Faery Queen*, Dedicatory sonnet to Hatton) ;

which incidentally shows us how to emend the awkward 'rang'd'; or ll. 1451-4 with I. v. 1, or ll. 1902-7 with III. iv. 17, confused remembrance accounting for the hopeless tangle of the thought, or the line :

And without starres do sayle 'gainst starres and winde (I. 2417);  
with :

But saile withouten starres gainst tide and wind (III. iv. 9),

which again suggests an obvious emendation. It is clear that the author of the play knew Spenser and was quite willing to plunder him. But no thefts have been discovered from the *Faery Queen* later than book III. It is therefore a legitimate conjecture, though for obvious reasons no more, that the play, which, as we have seen, must have been written not before 1592, the date of Daniel's *Rosamond*, was also written not later than 1596, the date of the second instalment of the *Faery Queen*. In general, as has been said above, the dependence upon Marlowe is too obvious to need definite proof, but one interesting side-issue may be mentioned, though its bearing is important rather for Marlowe than for our present play. It is clear that the anonymous author of *Caesar's Revenge* knew and copied *Doctor Faustus*. He imitates the line :

Clad in the beauty of a thousand starres (*Faustus*, l. 1342);  
in :

Clad in the beauty of my glorious lamps (l. 1219);  
and alludes to the phrase :

For he confounds hell in *Elizium* (*Faustus*, l. 295);  
in the line :

Hell and *Elizium* must be digd in one (l. 2541).



Now, could it be argued that the expression, for it is nothing more, in l. 2516: 'Hell craues her right' was necessarily borrowed from Faustus' words 'Hell claims his right' (l. 1287), it would be interesting, for those words first occur in the 1616 text, that of 1604 reading: 'Hell calls for right', which is certainly less suggestive of the phrase in question. The point cannot be argued with any certainty, but were the conclusion accepted it would not, of course, astonish readers of the *Taming of A Shrew*. Also an exactly similar connexion may be shown to exist in the case of *A Knack to Know a Knaue*, printed as early as 1594. There, as Mr. Crawford again points out, occurs the line:

My heart is hardend, I cannot repent (Hazlitt's *Dodsley*, vi. 520),  
which exactly reproduces one in the 1616 text of *Faustus* (l. 629), whereas the 1604 text reads:

My hearts so hardned I cannot repent;

while furthermore the devil in *A Knack* is named 'Asteroth', as is one of those raised by Faustus in 1616 ('Asteroth' 1616, l. 1157) but not in 1604. (The references to *Faustus* given above are to Tucker Brooke's *Marlowe*, 1910.)

The academic origin of *Caesar's Revenge* is abundantly clear, and this makes any connexion with the regular London drama to some extent improbable. That the subject was there treated about the same time is however certain. A 'seser & pompeie' is recorded by Henslowe as having been acted by the Lord Admiral's servants at the Rose in 1594 and 1595, being new on 8 Nov. the former year. A second part of the same was new on 18 June 1595, but only one subsequent performance is recorded. On 22 May 1602, we know from the same source, Munday, Drayton, Webster, Middleton, and possibly others were at work on a 'sesers ffalle', for the same company. The fact that the earlier piece was in two parts makes it practically certain that it had nothing to do with the Oxford play, though if this

had by any chance come into Henslowe's hands there is no reason to suppose that it might not have been put on the London stage.

The circumstances of publication, as pointed out in the reprint, are a little obscure. A careful examination, however, of the four copies there recorded places beyond question the fact that the undated title-page is the original first leaf, and the dated one a cancel. In the British Museum copy some idle person has written a number of figures below the imprint. Starting with the printed date 1607, he has written 1608, 1609, 1610, and so on in order till he came to the bottom of the page. It has been proposed to regard these dates as indicating that performances of the play took place in those years. It would be hard indeed to imagine a more fatuous suggestion.

With regard to *Sir Thomas More* the editor should perhaps apologize for having in the introductory note departed somewhat from the severely impersonal tone usual in the Society's publications, and for introducing a certain amount of controversial matter. His excuse must be that the peculiar nature of the case made some dependence on, and consequently some criticism of, his predecessors a necessity, and it seemed therefore best to say in one place whatever there was to be said on the subject. Any way his procedure obviates the necessity of adding anything here.

There are two points that should be mentioned concerning previous publications. One is that the source of the *Play of Lucrece* seems to have been traced by Professor W. Creizenach of Cracow to a writing of a certain humanist Bonaccorso da Montemagno of Pistoja, *De vera nobilitate*. His account of the matter will be found in the *Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, 1911, p. 200. The other point is concerned with the editor's suggestion regarding 'Thomas Barker' on p. 221 of these *Collections*. Subsequent inquiry has both confirmed and corrected the conjecture there advanced. The fact is that Langbaine had before him not only Kirkman's catalogue of 1671 but Archer's of 1656. From the former he took the title 'Fidele and For-

tunatus', but on glancing at the latter he inadvertently looked at the entry of Dekker's 'Fortunatus' instead of that of 'Fidele and Fortunata', and copied down the author's name there given, which is misprinted Thomas Barker. Thus the misprint which the editor suspected did actually occur, but it was Archer's, not Langbaine's.

## BODENHAM'S BELVEDERE

QUOTATIONS FROM THE VIRTUOUS OCTAVIA AND A KNACK TO  
KNOW AN HONEST MAN.

*Belvedere, or the Garden of the Muses*, first published in 1600, with a commendatory sonnet by A. M. to John Bodenheim, and reprinted in 1610, consists of single lines and couplets drawn from the works of English poets of the sixteenth century and arranged under categorical headings. The address to the reader contains a list of the poets chiefly cited, but there is no other indication of the authorship of the quotations. Mr. Charles Crawford has recently performed the astonishing feat of identifying the sources of the majority of the lines, and has incidentally shown that many of them are not literal quotations, but rather sentences based on a phrase of some poet, and frequently re-appearing in a slightly different form in other compilations. The general results of the investigation, together with detailed analyses of two sections, have been published in *Englische Studien*, xliiii. 198-228. Since, however, members may be interested to see how the inquiry bears on the Society's work, Mr. Crawford has kindly prepared a list of the lines quoted from *The Vertuous Octavia* and *A Knack to Know an Honest Man*. The references to *Belvedere* are to the pages of the reprint published by the Spenser Society in 1875, those to the plays to the lines of the Malone Society's editions.

### FROM VERTUOUS OCTAVIA.

i *Belvedere*, p. 18, 'Of Vertue.'

With honors eyes let vertues plaints be scand.

Dedication, l. 6.

- 2 p. 217, 'Of Time.'

Faire baits of time doth all the world devoure.

Should be :

Faire baites of time which dooth us all devoure.

*Octavia*, l. 26.

- 3 p. 202, 'Of Pleasure, &c.'

Pleasures (like posting guests) make but small stay,  
Where griefes bide long, and leave a score to pay.

Should be :

Our pleasures, (posting guests,) make but small stay,  
And never once looke backe when they are gone :  
Where greefes bide long, and leave such scores to pay ;

ll. 31-3.

- 4 p. 91, 'Of Praise.'

Safetie may breed delight, not nourish praise.

l. 141.

- 5 p. 61, 'Of Kings and Princes.'

It's greater care to keepe, than get a crowne.

Should be :

Tis greater care, to keepe, then get, a crowne.

l. 152.

- 6 pp. 18-19, 'Of Vertue.'

Vertue doth raise by very small degrees,  
Where in a moment Fortune casteth downe.

Should be :

Vertue dooth raise by small degrees we see :  
Where in a moment Fortune casts us downe.

ll. 153-4.

- 7 p. 150, 'Of Fortune, &c.'

On mischiefes maine mishap full saile doth beare.

Should be :

On mischiefes maine, full sayles mishap doth beare :

l. 176.

- 8 p. 202, 'Of Pleasure, &c.'

It's true delight, to know no cause of grieve.

Should be :

Ti's true delight, to know no cause of greefe,

l. 189.

- 9 p. 9, 'Of Conscience.'

A stained conscience finds no joy at all.

l. 192.

- 10 p. 190, 'Of Teares.'

As some men weepe that are not rightly sad,

So many smile that are not rightly glad.

Should be :

For as some weepe, that are not passing sad :

So many laugh that are not rightly glad.

ll. 197-8.

- 11 p. 199, 'Of Courage.'

As courage addeth wings to brave desire,

So bloodie shewes doth quench incensed ire.

Should be :

And courage added winges to our desire.

To present fight, we all our selves dispose :

With bloudie showers, to quenche incensed ire.

ll. 237-9.

- 12 p. 90, 'Of Fame, &c.'

Fame, bad concealer of our close intents.

l. 333.

- 13 p. 46, 'Of Jealousie.'

Suspition often wounds as deepe as death.

Should be :

Where now suspition wounds as deepe as death.

l. 539.

- 14 p. 146, 'Of Feare, &c.'

Delay doth much torment a doubtfull mind.

Should be :

O how delay torments a doubtfull minde.

l. 544.

- 15 p. 146, 'Of Feare, &c.'

Hardly we credit what imports our ill.

l. 581.

- 16 p. 50, 'Of Wit & Wisdom.'

Slow to beleewe, from wisdom doth proceed.

Should be :

But slow beleefe from wisdom doth proceed.

l. 582.

- 17 p. 46, 'Of Jealousie.'

O Jealousie, when truth once takes thy part,  
No mercie-wanting Tyrant so severe.

Should be :

O Jelousie, when truthe once takes thy part,  
What mercy-wanting tyrant so severe?

ll. 618-19.

- 18 p. 14, 'Of Truth.'

The seate of Truth is in our secret hearts,  
Not in the tongue, which falshood oft imparts.

ll. 662-3.

- 19 p. 20, 'Of Vertue.'

As feare of torment holds the wicked in,  
So vertues love make good men loath their sin.

Should be :

As feare of torment houlds the wicked in :  
So vertues love *makes* good men loath their sinne.

ll. 672-3.

- 20 p. 19, 'Of Vertue.'

Vertue most grieveth at her owne disgrace.

Should be :

Why, vertue grieves but at his owne disgrace,

l. 706.

- 21 p. 99, 'Of Patience.'

The minds distresse, with patience is reliev'd.

Should be :

And mindes distrest, with patience doth relieve :

l. 707.

- 22 p. 61, 'Of Kings and Princes.'

He is no king, that is affections slave.

Should be :

He is no *Prince*, that is affections slave.

l. 742.

- 23 p. 163, 'Of Affection, &c.'

Desire being fierce, is spring of sighes and teares.

Should be :

O fearce desire, the spring of sighes and teares,

l. 1024.

- 24 p. 205, 'Of Paine.'

It's paine and grieffe, to beare and suffer wrong :

But shame and sinne to him that causeth it.

Should be :

Tis paine, and grieffe, to beare and suffer wrong,

But shame and sinne to him that dooth the same :

ll. 1146-7.

- 25 p. 99, 'Of Patience.'

True patience can mildly suffer wrong,

Where rage and furie doe our lives defame.

Should be :

True patience can mildly suffer *long*,

Where rage and furie do our lives defame.

ll. 1148-9.



- 6 p. 115, 'Of Treason, &c.'

It's madnesse to give way to treacherie,  
Without due vengeance to such injurie.

Should be :

But I am wrong'd you say, and tis base feare,  
Without revenge to suffer injurie :  
Its cowardize unworthy wrongs to beare,  
And madnesse to give way to treacherie,

ll. 1154-7.

- 7 p. 199, 'Of Courage, &c.'

It's cowardise, unworthie wrongs to beare.

l. 1156.

- 8 p. 50, 'Of Wit and Wisdom.'

All wisdomes heires are jealous of their fall.

Should be :

But wisdomes heires are jealous of their fall ;

l. 1198.

- 9 p. 19, 'Of Vertue.'

A vertuous act seemes straunge in some mens sight.

l. 1200.

- 10 p. 77, 'Of Justice, &c.'

True noble minds doe still respect the right.

Should be :

But noble mindes are carefull of the right,

l. 1202.

- 11 p. 199, 'Of Courage, &c.'

Where wronged valour reignes, it's hard to find  
Such pittie, as may honours pride controll.

Should be :

Where wronged valour raignes /t's hard to finde,  
Such pittie as may honors pride controule.

ll. 1550-1.

- 32 p. 205, 'Of Paine, &c.'

With ease a sparke, with paine is quencht a flame.

l. 1555.

- 33 p. 172, 'Of the Tongue, &c.'

When swords have pleaded, words doe come too late.

Should be:

When swords have pleaded, words wil come too late.

l. 1559.

- 34 p. 61, 'Of Kings and Princes.'

No fall like his that falleth from a crowne.

l. 1579.

- 35 p. 85, 'Of Warre.'

Who best doth speed in warre, small safetie finds.

l. 1627.

- 36 p. 89, 'Of Fame, &c.'

Fame hath two wings; the one of false report:

The other hath some plumes of veritie.

ll. 1646-7.

- 37 p. 71, 'Of Honor, &c.'

High honour, not long life, the treasure is,

Which noble mindes without respect defend.

ll. 1656-7.

- 38 p. 71, 'Of Honor, &c.'

The praise of honour is not alwaies blood.

Should be:

The prize of honor is not alwaies bloud.

l. 1658.

- 39 p. 63, 'Of Kingdomes, &c.'

Wretched the state where men desire to die.

Should be:

O wretched state where men make haste to dye.

l. 1660.

p. 199, 'Of Courage, &c.'

True valour, feelles nor grieve nor miserie.

l. 1661.

p. 77, 'Of Justice, &c.'

Justice, not pittie, fits a princes mind.

l. 1663.

p. 77, 'Of Justice, &c.'

Men arm'd with justice, know not how to feare.

Should be :

I arm'd with justice, know not how to feare.

l. 1667.

p. 72, 'Of Honor, &c.'

High honour cryes revenge upon his foe.

Should be :

High honor cries revenge upon our foe :

l. 1749.

p. 89, 'Of Fame, &c.'

The chiefest thing a princes fame to raise,

Is, to excell those that are excellent.

Should be :

The rarest thing a Princes fame to raise,

Is to excell those that are excellent :

ll. 1764-5.

p. 217, 'Of Time.'

By time and wisdom, passions are suppress.

Should be :

With time, and wisdom, passions rage suppress.

l. 1771.

p. 71, 'Of Honor, &c.'

Honour doth scorne the height of Fortunes pride.

Should be :

My honor scornes the height of fortunes pride.

l. 1837.

- 47 p. 19, 'Of Vertue.'

A vertuous mind cannot be miserable.

Should be :

That vertuous minds can never wretched be.

l. 1847.

- 48 p. 163, 'Of Affection, &c.'

Desire doth spring from what we wish and want.

l. 1969.

- 49 p. 43, 'Of Beautie.'

There's none so faire, whose beautie all respect.

l. 2013.

# FROM A KNACKE TO KNOW AN HONEST MAN.

- 1 *Belvedere*, p. 14, 'Of Truth.'

Truth soundeth sweetly in a sillie tongue.

l. 192.

- 2 p. 6, 'Of Heaven.'

What heaven decrees, follie may not withstand.

Should be :

What God wil have, folly may not withstand.

l. 285.

- 3 p. 42, 'Of Beautie.'

Beautie to dwell with woe, deformes it selfe.

Should be :

Beautie to dwel with wo were to to bad.

l. 443.

- 4 p. 208, 'Of Povertie.'

Contented povertie, is happinesse.

Should be :

My povertie is happines to me.

l. 459.

- 5 p. 95, 'Of Friendship.'  
 True friendship maketh light all heaue harmes.  
 Should be:  
 True friendship lightneth all these burdenous harmes'  
 l. 564.
- 6 p. 175, 'Of Flatterie, &c.'  
 The best dissembler, hath the bravest wit.  
 l. 593.
- 7 p. 199, 'Of Courage, &c.'  
 Courage and industrie can never want.  
 l. 602.
- 8 p. 208, 'Of Povertie, &c.'  
 Diligence most enableth poorest men.  
 Should be:  
 But diligence inableth poorest men.  
 l. 604.
- 9 p. 135, 'Of Gluttonie, &c.'  
 Worldlings (like Antes) eat up the gaines of men.  
 Should be:  
 • Ha ha ha, a worldling ryght, the poets song  
 Was well applied in this,  
 For like the antes they eate the gaine of mens wealth,  
 ll. 809-111.
- 10 p. 17, 'Of Vertue.'  
 If sinne were dead, vertue could not be knowne.  
 Should be:  
 If sinne were dead vertue were never seene.  
 l. 851.
- 11 p. 159, 'Of the Mind.'  
 It's pittie gold should sunder vertuous minds.  
 Should be:  
 Tis pittie that gold should part two noble minds,  
 l. 986.

- 12 p. 208, 'Of Povertie, &c.'

The love of poore men, great mens harmes debates.

Should be:

Thus poore mens love, doth great mens harmes debate.

l. 991.

- 13 p. 232, 'Of Death.'

Death is too good for base dishonest life.

Should be:

For death is too good an end for him that favours  
dishonestie.

ll. 997-8.

- 14 p. 208, 'Of Povertie, &c.'

Love never keepes where wretchednes abides.

Should be:

*Phil.* I seeke for love, saw you not him of late.

*Ophi.* He never keepes, where wretched men abide.

ll. 1085-6.

- 15 p. 208, 'Of Povertie, &c.'

Poore men should suffer for no great mens sinnes.

Should be:

Or poore men suffer for a great mans sinne?

l. 1353.

# THE HUNTING OF CUPID

A LOST PLAY BY GEORGE PEELE.

THE *Arraignment of Paris* having appeared among the recent reprints of the Malone Society, it is natural to include in this place the few and scattered remains of Peele's other play of a pastoral or mythological nature, the *Hunting of Cupid*. In the Registers of the Stationers' Company appears the entry:

26 Iulij [1591]

Richard Iones Entred vnto him for his cōpye vnder thandes of the Bishop of London and Master Watkins a booke intituled the Huntinge of Cupid wrytten by George Peele Master of Artes of Oxford.  
Provyded alwayes that yf yt be hurtfull to any other Cōpye before lycenced, then this to be voyde  
[Arber's Transcript, II. 591.]<sup>vj<sup>d</sup></sup>

What reason the licenser may have had for suspecting that Jones was contemplating some fraud on a previous copy holder is not clear, but there is no reason to think that the condition imposed proved any obstacle to publication. For, as we shall see in a moment, the play is quoted in *England's Parnassus*, a collection which, so far as is known, contains extracts from printed sources only. Unfortunately, however, no copy appears to have survived.

Most of what we know of the contents of the *Hunting of Cupid* comes from the strangely muddled jottings which fill three folio pages in a commonplace-book kept by William Drummond of Hawthornden, now preserved in the library of the Society of Antiquaries at Edinburgh (Drummond MSS., vol. VII). The writer evidently noted down, in a very bad hand, any lines or phrases that struck his fancy as he read the play. Thus very little of a consecutive nature can be gathered from the manuscript,

the chief value of which lies in the fact that it enables us to identify, as belonging to this play, passages which we find quoted elsewhere merely as Peele's. As might be expected Drummond's notes are not always very intelligible, and ll. 9-12 particularly have proved provokingly obscure. It is perhaps as well that they should remain so: nevertheless, as certain students may be interested in the matter, it may be permissible to note that l. 9 may possibly allude to a rather favourite novella theme found in the *Cent Nouvelles Nouvelles* (no. 82) and Fortini's *Novelle de' Novizi* (no. 12), that ll. 10-11 are clearly the origin of Drummond's own epigram 'Of Nisa' (ed. Turnbull, p. 104), while the best commentary on l. 12 is perhaps the prologue to Ariosto's *Suppositi*. It appears from the introduction to Dyce's edition of Peele, that Drummond's extracts from the *Hunting of Cupid* are among his notes of 'Bookes red anno 1609 be me', which supports the presumption that the play was printed. The text given below has been prepared in part from the facsimile of the first page given by Bullen in his edition of Peele, partly from photographs of pages two and three, obtained through the kindness of Mr. J. Anderson of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland. To Mr. Anderson the editor is also indebted for verifying certain readings in the manuscript. The transcript made by David Laing, from which Dyce printed, appears to have been neither quite accurate nor quite complete. Bullen merely modernizes Dyce. The reproduction of the third page which accompanies the present reprint is considerably reduced.

Our second and third sources of information are the well-known anthologies *England's Parnassus* and *England's Helicon*, both printed in 1600, and therefore some years earlier than Drummond's notes. *Parnassus* gives the ten lines of the passage describing the arrows of Cupid (cf. Drummond, ll. 42-7). It is clear that Drummond's extract is here badly garbled, but nevertheless in the last line it seems to preserve two readings, *his* and *fetcht*, superior to those of the printed text. *Helicon* preserves fourteen lines of the Melampus song represented by mere fragments in the notes (Drummond, ll. 57-60).



Lastly, the Rawlinson MS. (Poet. 85) in the Bodleian Library preserves a passage (there forming eleven lines) descriptive of love. This occurs with many variants, and with the addition of four extra lines before the final couplet, in Drummond (ll. 14-28). The manuscript is of about the year 1600: the author's name has been added in a different but contemporary hand. The first seven lines of this passage (there printed as five) are also found as an incidental song in the anonymous play entitled *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll*, entered in the Stationers' Register, 7 Oct 1600, and printed the same year.

*Parnassus*, *Helicon*, and the Rawlinson manuscript all assign their quotations to Peele, but since they give no further information it is solely owing to Drummond that we are able to refer them to the *Hunting of Cupid*.

#### FROM DRUMMOND'S COMMONPLACE BOOK.

The Hunting. of Cupid by George Peele of oxford.  
Pastoral

on the snowie browes of albion. sweet voodes sweet ruining  
brookes, y<sup>t</sup> chide in a pleasant tune and make quiet murmur  
leauing the lilies, mints and vater flouers in ther gentle  
glide: making her face the marke of his vondring  
eies and his eyes the messengers of his voundit hart.  
like a candle keepeth but a litil roome yet blazeth  
round about. heardgroome v<sup>t</sup> his strauberrie lasse  
some v<sup>t</sup> his suethart making false position putting  
a schort sillabe vher a long one should be.

3 sweet voodes] *Drummond writes u and w indifferently for the semi-vowel initially u becomes v; hence the strange spellings as above.*

5 leauing] *i.e. laving.*

6 making] *k altered from n* her] *apparently altered from his*

11 schort] *the words usually written with initial sh are a puzzle throughout the MS. Only once (l. 44 shafte) do we find the ordinary form. Otherwise in most cases it looks like sth. This, however, is an impossible spelling, and no doubt it is sc that is meant.*

some a false supposition  
 to celebrate Mistris holiday in Idlennesse.  
 vhat thing is loue for (vel I vot) loue is a thing  
 it is a pricke ; it is a sting  
 it is a prettie, prettie thing  
 it is a fire it is a cole

vhose flame creepes in at eurie hole.  
 and as my vit doth best deuise  
 loues duelling is in ladys eies :  
 from vhencc do glaunce loues pearcing darts  
 that mack such holes into o<sup>r</sup> harts  
 and al the world herin accord  
 loue is a great & mightie lord  
 and vhen he list to mount so hie  
 v<sup>t</sup> ven<sup>g</sup> he in heu<sup>e</sup> doth lie  
 and euer more hath been a God  
 since Mars & sche plaid eu<sup>e</sup> & od  
 Kis a litle and vse not.

20

Q. vhy kissings good. R to stirre your bloud to make yow  
 vel dispossd to play. ab aquilone omne malum.  
 vuld haue moued teares in vreath her selfe.  
 vrinckled sorrow sate in furrowes of a faire face  
 famous for his il fortune. yow y<sup>t</sup> thinke ther is no  
 heauen but on earth. yow y<sup>t</sup> sucke poison instead of  
 honney. he excedeth fiēds in crueltie & fortune  
 in vnconstancie.

p. 2

30

set vp cynthia by day and cytherea by nyt.  
 sche strakit his head & mist his hornes.  
 vho bluntly bespake her.

40

Grew this suet rose in this soure stalke,  
 at Venus entreate for cupid her sone  
 upids these arrowes by Vlcan are cunningly done.  
 rrows ther first is loue the second shafte is hate

13 in] *doubtful.*22 into] *t doubtful.*26 ven<sup>g</sup>] *i.e. Venus.*32 vreath] *i.e. wrath.* her] *apparently altered from him*39 his head] *first h altered.*43 Vlcan] *i.e. Vulcan, cf. ll. 47 and 54.*

but this is hope from whence suet comfort springs  
 this Ielousie in bassest minds doth duell.  
 his mettall Vlcans cyclops fetcht from Hel  
 a smaking kis y<sup>t</sup> vakt me v<sup>t</sup> the dine.  
 knew good and eschew it praise chastness & follow  
 lustful loue like the old athenien  
 al quicklie com home by weeping crosse  
 highest imperial orbe and throne of the thunder.  
 et non moriery invltō schelter and schade  
 holdith them faster then vlcans fine vires kept Mars  
 a song to be sung for a vager a dish of damsons new  
 gathered off the trees.

Melamp9 when vil loue be voide of feares  
 when Ielousie hath nather eies nor eies  
 Melamp9 tel me vñ is loue best fed  
 when it hath sucke the suet y<sup>t</sup> ease hath breed  
 licoris as suet to him as licorice.

Cor sapit, et pulmo loquitr, fel comouet,  
 splen ridere facit, cogit amore iecur  
 a hot liuer most be in a louer.

To commend aney thing is the Italian manner of  
 crauing

My hart is like a point of geometrie indiuisable  
 and vher it goes it goes al.,

Hard hart y<sup>t</sup> did thy reed (poore schephard) brake  
 thy reed y<sup>t</sup> vas the trumpet of thy vit  
 yet thought vnvorthie sound thy Phenixs Praise  
 And v<sup>t</sup>. this slender pipe her glorie raise  
 Cupid enraged to see a thousand boyes  
 as faire as he sit shooting in her eies.

fel downe. and sche,

pluckt al his plumes, and made her selfe a fan

47 cyclops | second c altered from l

50 athenien | possibly a final s deleted.

60 sucke | for sukt

69, 70 reed | second c altered from a

49 knew | for know

58 nor eies | for nor ears

63 iecur | r altered?

71 thought | for though

suering him her true litle seruīg man.

Muse chuse :

My mistris feeds the ayre ayre feeds not her

lyt of the lyt sche is, delyt supream.

yet so far from the lytnes of her sex.

for sche is the bird whose name doth end in X

Not clouds cast from this spungie elemēt

nor darkenesse schot from orco pitchie eyes

yet both her sunes vailed v<sup>t</sup>. her arche beauties.

— her vords such quickning odors cast

as raise, the sicke and make the soundest thinke

ayre is not vholsome, til her valke be past

more then the fontaines til the vnicornes drinke

a thousand echoes vat vpon her voice

Those milkie mounts he eurie morning hants.

vher to ther drinke his mothers doues he cals

in my yonger dayes when my vitts rana vool

gathering. some prettie lye he coined.

fin.

FROM ENGLAND'S PARNASSUS, 1600.

[under the heading 'Love' : sig. N1, p. 177.]

At Venus intreatie for Cupid her sonne,

These arrowes by Vulcan were cunningly done :

The first is Loue, as heer you may behold,

His feathers head and body are of gold.

The second shaft is Hate, a foe to loue,

And bitter are his torments for to proue.

The third is Hope, from whence our comfort springs,

His feathers are puld from Fortunes wings.

Fourth, Iealousie in basest minds doth dwell,

This mettall Vulcans Cyclops sent from hell.

*G. Peele.*

77 her] r altered. 86 odors] d altered from rd

87 and make] crossed out probably by mistake. 90 vat] i.e. wait.



FROM ENGLAND'S HELICON, 1600.

[sig. E3.]

¶ Coridon and Melampus Song.

*Cor. Melampus*, when will Loue be void of feares ?*Mel.* When Iealousie hath neither eyes nor eares.*Cor. Melampus*, when will Loue be throughly shriued ?*Mel.* When it is hard to speake, and not belecued.*Cor. Melampus*, when is Loue most malecontent ?*Mel.* When Louers range, and beare their bowes vnben.*Cor. Melampus*, tell me, when takes Loue least harme ?*Mel.* When Swaines sweete pipes are puffed, and Trulls are warme.*Cor. Melampus*, tell me, when is Loue best fed ?*Mel.* When it hath suck'd the sweet that ease hath bred.*Cor. Melampus*, when is time in Loue ill spent ?*Mel.* When it earnes meede, and yet receaues no rent.*Cor. Melampus*, when is time well spent in Loue ?*Mel.* When deedes win meedes, and words Loues works doo proue.

FINIS.

Geo. Peele.

FROM MS. RAWL. POET. 85.

[fol. 13 recto.]

What thinge is loue ? for sure loue is a thinge

Loue is a pricke, loue is a styng, loue is a ptye, ptye thinge,

Loue is a fyre loue is a colle,

Whose flame creeps in at euerye hoole,

And as my selfe can beste deuys

His dwellinge is in ladyes eyes

From whence he stootes his daynty darts

In to the lusty gallunts hartes.

And euer since was calde a god

That Mars withe Venus playde euen and odd,

Finis

M<sup>r</sup> G: Peele.

## THE HUNTING OF CUPID

FROM THE WISDOM OF DOCTOR DODYPOLL, 1600.

[sig. A4<sup>v</sup>.]

*Enter Cornelia sola, looking vpon the picture of Alberdure in a little Jewell, and singing. Enter the Doctor and the Merchant following, and hearkning to her.*

## The Song.

*What thing is loue? for sure I am it is a thing,  
It is a prick, it is a thing, it is a prettie, prettie thing.  
It is a fire, it is a coale, whose flame creeps in at euery hoale.  
And as my wits do best deuise,  
Loues dwelling is in Ladies eies.*

# THE CRUEL DEBTOR

A FRAGMENT OF A MORALITY PRINTED BY COLWELL, C. 1566.

IN the course of the year July 1565 to July 1566 the following rather confused entry was made in the Registers of the Stationers' Company: 'Recevyd of Thomas colwell for his lycence for prynting of a ballet intituled an interlude the Cruell Detter by Wager . . . . iij<sup>d</sup>' (Arber's Transcript, I. 307). The play seems to have been published anonymously, at least neither Archer nor Kirkman, who include it in their lists, the former distinguishing it as a tragedy, give any author's name. Their bare entries were copied by subsequent bibliographers, Chetwood adding the rather unhappy guess '1669', till Reed drew attention to the entry in the Register. Collier would seem to have been the first to record the existence of a fragment 'readily communicated to us by Mr. Halliwell'. In his *Extracts from the Registers of the Stationers' Company*, 1849 (ii. xiv), he prints a passage which forms ll. 134-57 below. Another fragment was already in the Bagford collection in the British Museum, though it does not seem to have been identified till later (W. C. Hazlitt, *Handbook*, 1867, p. 637). It is preserved in a volume classed as Harl. 5919 (fol. 18<sup>b</sup>), and consists of a single leaf, evidently out of a pad of waste, signed C.iii. The *Academy* for 9 March 1878, contained an announcement that 'Among the black-letter fragments of Mr. W. B. Scott, Mr. Edmund Gosse has found two more leaves of the *Cruel Detter*'. These prove to be the fragment previously recorded by Halliwell and Collier. It consists of a double leaf, evidently out of a binding, the first signed D and the second being presumably D4, though, as irregularly made-up quartos are



occasionally found, it might possibly be D6 or even D8. The whole extant remains, that is the two fragments just mentioned, were reprinted in the New Shakspeare Society's *Transactions* for 1877-9 (i. 2\*). The introductory note is signed F. J. Furnivall and dated 7 March 1878. The text is far from accurate, but since it was apparently printed at a time when the Bagford fragment had suffered less from reparations than at present, it may in some places record readings that are now lost. It has therefore been occasionally quoted in the notes to the present reprint. On 8 March 1879, the Scott fragment was presented to the British Museum and is now classed as C. 40. e. 48.

The identity of the author is uncertain, for the Register merely gives the name as Wager, and there were, of course, two dramatic writers of this name, Lewis Wager, whose *Mary Magdalen* was printed in 1566, and W. Wager, whose morality, *The Longer thou Livest the More Fool thou Art*, seems to have been registered in 1568-9. The current identification of the author of the *Cruel Debtor* with W. Wager (usually called William Wager on no satisfactory ground) seems to have its source in Hazlitt's *Handbook*, and is a mere guess. Rudolf Imelmann in the *Archiv f. d. S. d. N. S.* (cx. 209) argues in favour of Lewis Wager. Not very much weight attaches to his contention, but his perception that the plot is founded on Matthew xviii. 23-35 is of real value, since it disposes of the not very happy suggestion that the play was connected with the Shylock story. With this view also fall the suggestions that it may have been the same as the *Jew* recorded by Gosson in 1579 (*School of Abuse*, sig. C6<sup>v</sup>, fol. 23<sup>b</sup>, ed. Arber, p. 40), or as *'Tis good sleeping in a whole Skin*, a play ascribed to W. Wager in Warburton's list.

The cruell Debtter.

To them thou shalt be welcome I warant thee,  
Yea, and in great acceptacyō also (sayd hee.)

Now the thyng whearfore I was so angry & mad,  
Was thys, I forgate the counsell that of him I had.

¶ The goodlyest thing in the world is cōmunication Flateri

For what bryngeth thynges to our memoratyon,

Thou and I had lyke fortune wyth Basileus,

After that maner to thee I wyll playnly dyscuffe :

I remembered a sayenge of Seneca in a Tragedy,

10 Worthy to be prynted of such as loues Flattery.

*Fraus sublimi regnat in aula.*

The higher that the court is & the more of nobyltye,

The more falsched is thearin, & the more Iniquytie,

More flaterie is not in the worlde reygnyng

Then is in the courte of any noble kynge.

Now( )us is a kynge of most honoration

In whose house I thought to haue my habytacyon,

But I came not so sone wythin Basileus Palace,

But they dysclosd me openly vnto my face,

20 And whan they had once so bewrayed my name

I myght no lenger tary in that court for shame,

Than (as thou dydest) I toke my freyndes counsell

Askyng hym wheare it was best for me to dwell

He named them of whom we haue spoke before

Sayeng, that wyth them you may dwell euermore.

And euen now my purpose was to go thither.

¶ Of all good fellowship let vs go together :

Rigor.

I do not passe in kynge Basileus house to dwell

I doubt not but that we shall do euen as well :

30 But syra, what biddest thou see Symulation ?

¶ Thys day he and I had cōmunication,

Flateri

)romysed me straightway to come hether

)our < )eyndes we shuld go together :

C.iii.

In

The Cruell debtter.

In the worlde is not so false a knaue as hee,  
 For by hym all states of people deceyued bee.  
 In Byshops and pastors he is humylitie  
 And yet must be full of pryde and crudelytie :  
 In all the Clergy he semeth to be holynes,  
 Whan in them is a multytude of wyckednes.  
 In Magystrates he semeth to be Affabylitie,  
 Yet theare lurketh dysdayne and Austerytie,  
 In the cōmons he semeth to be neyghbourlynes,  
 Yet is theare enuye, hate, and coueytousnes.  
 I dare say that hys deceyte further doth wander  
 Than all the domynyon of kynge Alexander.

40

Rigor. ¶ Deceyueth he so, and is neuer deceyued agayne?  
 Flateri ¶ Sildome or neuer that I here of, I tel thee plaine.  
 Rigor, ¶ By the masse it were a good deede to deceyue him  
 And I will tell thee which way we may do it t<sup>t</sup>  
 Thou sayest y he will be here without doubt to day,  
 Flateri ¶ That is wythout question, (truly I dare say.)  
 Rigor. ¶ Well, whan he cōmeth we wyll semble out to fall,  
 we wil strike one at another as though we did brawl  
 What we meane by that he wyll greatly wonder,  
 Than he wyll come intendyng vs to funder :  
 Thou shalt stryke at me, and I at thee wyll smacke  
 But let all the strypes lyght vpon hys backe.

50

Flateri ¶ Of good fellowshyp let it be so euen indede  
 Let the semblyng knaue haue somewhat for his mede,  
 Begyn Harke, by my fayth & trouth I here hym spyt :  
 to fight Nay holde thy hande, thou mayst not fyght yet.  
 Rigor. ¶ We must be fyghtyng when he doth enter neades,  
 Or else for the sporte I wyll not geue two threades.

60

¶ Here enter Symylatyon.

Symu- ¶ *Dominus vobiscum, In principio erat verbum.*  
 latyon. Yea? are you fyghtyng? I purpose no nere ( )m.  
*Nemo tute se periculis offerre potese.*

The cruell Debiter.

Ull they spy a time to do one shrewd turne for another  
Hange me if I wayte not for you a knauysh tovorhe  
yea, or it shall cost me all that is in my powche,  
A vengeance on you for workyng of the same,  
for you haue almost made my armes and back lame.

God requyret h no moze but a penytent harte.

flateri

Wary but he wolde requyre moze if he felt sinarte.

Symu-  
latyon.

Here entreteth Ophilettis.

Peace, no more words; yonder cometh a gentleman. Kpgoz.

By Iesu I wyl be euen wyth you both if I can.

Symu.

Do what thou canst, I set not by thee a louse.

Kigoz.

It is a gentleman of kynge Basileus house,

flateri

He is not mery, some thyng wythout doubt is amysse

If thou wylt be stil you shal know what the cause is.

Let vs semble our selues to be persons of graunte.

Kigoz.

I could fynd in my harte to dysclose your knauytie,

Symu-

By my farth if I knew my selfe to scape harinelesse

latyon.

I wold declare (to your shame) all your wickednesse.

We may be glad at the harte verely

Kpgoz.

That thou art as farr furth as we in knauery,

Wherefore if any of our seates thou wylt dysclose,

the worst payne & shame shal light on thy owne nose.

A good Lord, I am vndone and all myne,

Ophile  
ttis.

I haue lyued lyke a gentleman all my lyfe,

But now I am lyke to come to vtter ruine

yea, and all my goods, chyldren and wyfe:

He that wolde hange me, or kyl me wyth a knyfe

I wold for geue hym, yea, euen wyth a good wyl,

for I am not worthe so much as an Oyster shell.

The hygher that any man presurneth to chyme

The lower is his hurte whan he chaunceth to fall,

Wolde to god that I had looked vpon this in tyme,

Thy had I not ben so miserable and thral:

. The cruell Debtter

til they spy a time to do one shrewd turne for another

Hange me if I wayte not for you a knauysh towche

70 Yea, or it shall cost me all that is in my powche,

A vengeance on you for working of the same,  
For you haue almost made my armes and back lame.

¶ God requyreth no more but a penytent harte.

¶ Mary but he wolde requyre more if he felt smarte.  
Here entreth Ophiletis.

Flateri  
Symu-  
latyon.

¶ Peace, no more words, yonder cometh a gentlemā.

Rygor.

¶ By Iesu I wyll be euen wyth you both if I can.

Symu.

¶ Do what thou canst, I set not by thee a louse.

Rigor.

¶ It is a gentleman of kyng Basileus house,

Flateri

80 He is not mery, some thyng wythout doubt is amysse  
If thou wylt be stil you shal know what the cause is.

¶ Let vs semble our selues to be persons of grauytie.

Rigor.

¶ I could fynd in my harte to dysclose your knautie,  
By my fayth if I knew my selfe to scape harmeleffe,  
I wold declare (to your shame) all your wickednesse.

Symu-  
latyon.

¶ We may be glad at the harte verely

Rygor.

That thou art as farre furth as we in knauery,

Whearfore if any of our feates thou wylt dysclose,  
the worst payne & shame shal light on thy owne nose.

90 ¶ A good Lord, I am vndone and all myne,

Ophile  
tis.

I haue lyued lyke a gentleman all my lyfe,

But now I am lyke to come to vtter ruyne

Yea, and all my goods, chyldren and wyfe :

He that wolde hange me, or kyll me wyth a knyfe

I wolde forgeue hym, yea, euen wyth a good wyll,

For I am not worthe so much as an Oyestershyll.

The hygher that any man presumeth to clyme

The forer is hys hurte when he chaūceth to fall,

Wolde to god that I had loked vpon this in tyme,

100 Than had I not ben so myserable and thrall :

D.

I

The cruell Debtter.

I had not the grace to be wyfe and polytycall,  
 I neuer mynded to gather any good or treasure  
 Onely my harte was fet to lyue in pleasure.  
 I thought my selfe so much in fauour wyth the kynge  
 Trustyng in hys goodnes onely from day to day,  
 Euer thynkyng that I should want nothyng  
 And also impossyble that euer I should decay,  
 I spent styll, borrowed of the king, promysyng to pay,  
 But now Proniticus hath sūmoned me to a compte,  
 And alas, my debtes do all my goods surmount.

110

Rygor. ¶ Syrs here you not? thys is a fyt mater for vs,  
 Speke amonge your selves a good way of.

If we had imagined amonge vs a whole yere,  
 We could not haue such a thyng against Basileus  
 As we haue occasyon now in thys man here,  
 Basileus loueth none of vs it doth well appere,  
 And as it semeth by thys mans behauour,  
 Vnto hym he oweth no very great fauour.

Flateri ¶ Now to talke wyth hym is a tyme conueuyent,  
 For any man being in forow and desolation,  
 To here good counsell wyll be glad and dylygent,  
 Namely in a mater of peryll and dubytation.

120

Symu- ¶ Let vs go vnto hym, and by hys cōmunication  
 latyon. We shall know more, and then as we do in him see  
 So in our counsell freyndly to hym we wyll bee.

Rigor. ¶ God spede you sir, & you ar welcome into this place  
 By my faith you are welcome as my harte can thinke  
 Alack, you are not mery (it semeth by your face.)  
 Wyll it please you a cup of good wyne to drynke?  
 Wyll it please you to go to the goodwife of the clinke?  
 To speke of good wyne, in London I dare say  
 Is no better wyne than thear was once to day.

130

Flateri ¶ *Viro autem defatigato, magnum robur vinum auget.*

To

The cruell Debttter.

- ¶ It was tyme to haue in a redynes all thyng  
For yonder cōmeth Basileus my Lord and kynge.
- ¶ As far as we can let vs stande asyde,  
Tyll he sendeth for you let vs yonder abyde.
- ¶ I thanke you proniticus for your dylygence,  
Doubt you not, but your paynes we wyll recompence
- 140 I am pleased w<sup>th</sup> the accomptes that you haue taken,  
None of your bookes nor bylles shalbe forsaken  
The moſte parte of my debtters haue honeſtly payed  
A( )d they that weare not redy I haue gently dayed.
- ¶ ( )f it pleſe your grace we haue not finiſht your mind  
Thear is one of your greateſt debttters yet behind,  
We haue peruſed the parcelles in your bookes ſet,  
And we fynd him ten thouſand talents in your debt,  
So we aſſygned hym before your grace to come  
And to make a rekenyng for the whole ſūme.
- 150 ¶ I wene it be that vnthryfty fellow Ophiletis.
- ¶ Yea truly, if it lyke your grace the ſame it is,  
I cōmaunded hym to be redy here in place  
That we myght brynge hym before your grace.
- ¶ Wyth( )tytie I wolde haue hym ſought  
And before myne owne preſence to be brought.
- ¶ I perceyue that he is euen here at hand,  
I ſee that in a redynes yonder he doth ſtand.
- ¶ Cauſe him before vs in his owne perſon to appere.
- ¶ It ſhall not be longe before he be here.
- 160 ¶ Plucke vp your heart and be of good chere,  
Feare not I warent you, good fortune is nere.
- ¶ Ophiletis it is the kyng Baſileus cōmaundement  
That you come before hys maieſty now incontinent.
- ¶ I am in a redynes truly wyth all humylytie  
To come into the preſence of hys maieſtye.
- ¶ I pray you fyr ſpeke a good word for him to ſy king.
- ¶ He

Ophile  
tis.

Rygor.

Baſile-  
us.

Proni-  
ticus.

Baſi.

Proni-  
ticus.

Baſy.

Proni.

Baſile.

Proni.

Rigor.

Proni-  
ticus.

Ophile  
tis.

Rigor.

The Cruell debttter.

- Proni. ¶ He knoweth that I am hys owne in all thyng.  
 Ophile ¶ God saue your lyfe the fountayne of nobilitie,  
 tis. All haile the very patron of Magnanymytie,  
 Blessed be you the author of all worthynes, 170  
 Honour & prayse to you the head sprynge of goodnes.  
 Rigor. ¶ O most myghty, most valyant and noble kyng  
 God saue you, god saue you, of all vertue the sprynge.  
 Basi. ¶ whom hast thou brought into our presence w<sup>th</sup> thee?  
 Ophi. ¶ If it lyke your grace, hys name is Humylytic.  
 Rigor, ¶ Yea, from hys harte I am neuer absent,  
 Nor I thynke neuer shalbe by hys intent.  
 Basile- ¶ In our accomptes takē by our stuard you do know  
 us. What a sum of money vnto vs you do owe.  
 Haue you brought hether suffycient payment 180  
 To make your compte, after our cōmaundement?  
 Ophile ¶ O syr, I beseeche you to be mercyfull to mee,  
 tis. For I knowledg my selfe so farre in your debt to bee  
 That all that I haue is not suffycient  
 Of a quarter of my debtes to make payment.  
 Rigor. ¶ Weepe, body of god can you not weepe for a neede?  
 Speke You must loke pyteously if you intende to speede,  
 asyde. If you can not weepe, I wyll weepe for you:  
 Ho, ho, ho, I pray you be good to vs now.  
 Proni. ¶ What meane you in this place to play such a parte? 190  
 Rigor. ¶ O syr, I declare the effect of this mans meke hart.  
 Basile- ¶ Thear is no more of the mater but onely thys,  
 us. Thou art a ryotous person (doubtles Ophyletis,)  
 Pryde and presumtyon hereto haue thee brought,  
 Much to spend and lash out, was euer thy thought,  
 A sumptuous table thou woldest keepe euery day,  
 Beyond thy degree thou dydest excede in aray.  
 Rygor. ¶ that I may speke one word, please it your maiesty?  
 Basy. ¶ Say whatsoeuer you wyll, we geue you lyberty.  
 ¶ Hys



## NOTES

- 6 memoratyon.] *first o doubtful.*  
 7 Basileus.] *il doubtful.*  
 8 dysculle:] *d doubtful.*  
 16 us] *u doubtful*; Basileus *NSS.*  
 17 whose] *o doubtful.*  
     habytacyon] *li doubtful.*  
 23 to] *i doubtful.*  
 25 euermore.] *first e doubtful.*  
 27 ¶] *doubtful.*  
 31 ¶] *doubtful.*  
 32 romysed] He promysed *NSS.*  
     fraitghtway] *y doubtful.*  
 33 our] [To visite] our *NSS.*  
     cytoles] freyndes *NSS.*  
 49 t] tryn *NSS.*  
 50 doubt to] *tt doubtful.*  
 53 one] *possibly on e.*  
 66 m.] *possibly in. but to cum. NSS.*  
 67 Lacuna of one leaf, some 66-68 lines.  
 104 thought] *sic.*  
 119 conueyent,] *sic.*  
 133 Lacuna probably of two leaves, or some 134 lines.  
 143 A] *doubtful.*  
 144 ¶] *doubtful.*  
 154 Wyth] *the next word was probably all, the ll being fairly clear. Collier*  
*prints all*

## NOTES ON DRAMATIC BIBLIOGRAPHERS

THE history of the bibliography of the English drama is more curious than important, and most of the early works on the subject have a purely antiquarian interest. It nevertheless frequently happens that in dealing with the bibliographical history of a dramatic work it becomes necessary for one reason or another to refer to the remarks of early writers on the subject. Thus it is occasionally desirable to show that the existence of a particular play was known at a particular date. For instance, Archer's mention of *Tom Tyler* in 1656 proves that the only extant edition of the play, that of 1661, was, as it represents itself, a reprint of an earlier impression. More frequently the object of such reference is to account for some current misconception or misstatement. A detailed example of this will be given below. Anyhow, as a glance through the introductory notes to the Society's reprints will show, the early bibliographers of the drama arrogate to themselves a critical importance altogether disproportionate to their intrinsic merits. For this reason it has been thought that an annotated list of at least the more pretentious, if one hesitates to say the more valuable, of such bibliographical curiosities might find a fitting place in these Collections.

In order to illustrate how a familiarity with the history of dramatic bibliography is often necessary for the criticism of current and received opinions, I will take the case of two obscure writers named Wager. The name has come up recently in connexion with two pieces printed by the Society, but the traditional evidence was not of sufficient importance to merit detailed treatment. The story may be told here as a warning.

The facts, and what I believe to be the only relevant facts known, are as follow. A play on the *Life and Repentance of Mary Magdalen* was entered in the Stationers' Register in the latter half of 1566 and printed as 'Made by the learned clarke Lewis Wager' before the end of the year. Another play, entitled *The Longer thou Livest the more Fool thou Art*, was entered in 1568-9 and printed without date as by W. Wager. This W. Wager also appears as the author of a lost piece, 'Tis good Sleeping in a whole Skin, in Warburton's list. There is nothing to show for what name the initial stood. Now, in 1565-6 a play called *The Cruel Debtor*, now known by fragments only, was entered in the Stationers' Register as written by 'Wager', no name or initial being given. As regards Lewis Wager and his *Mary Magdalen* all is straightforward, but as regards the other pieces the possibilities of confusion are obvious and have not been neglected.

We start with Phillips, who in 1675 mentions William Wager, being thus apparently the first to invent the Christian name, and attributes to him not only *The Longer thou Livest*, but also *Tom Tyler and his Wife* and the *Trial of Chivalry*. Now the origin of this astonishing entry can be shown to be a misunderstanding of Kirkman's catalogue of 1661. The name W. Wager is there correctly prefixed to the entry of *The Longer thou Livest*. Next follow, as beginning with the same letter, for Kirkman regards the initial alone in his alphabetical arrangement, the titles *Tom Tyler and his Wife* and the *Trial of Chivalry* without any author's name. So little had Phillips studied Kirkman's arrangement that he supposed the name W. Wager to apply to all three plays. Hence his own entry. Just in the same way we find him giving *Tamberlaine* to Thomas Newton because in Kirkman's list it follows that translator's *Thebais*. Phillips' entry of Wager is copied and expanded by Winstanley. Langbaine in *Momus*, 1688, merely reproduces Kirkman's entry of *The Longer thou Livest*, but he reproduces it from the second list, 1671, in which 'Wager' is misprinted 'Wayer', and to this he prefixed the name William. When, however, he issued his larger work in 1691 he was more explicit, for under

William Wayer, after noting '*The more [sic] thou livest*', 'which I never saw', he adds: 'There are two other Plays (whose Authors are unknown) ascribed by Mr. Philips and Winstanley, to our Author: viz. *Tryal of Chivalry*, and *Tom Tyler and his Wife*: tho' I believe they were never writ by him.' Gildon in 1698 had evidently seen *The Longer thou Livest*, presumably in Ash's collection, but he nevertheless retained the erroneous heading 'William Wayer'. He made no mention of the other two plays. Subsequent writers have nothing to add till we come to the incorrigible Chetwood, who, assigning the play as usual to 'Mr. William Wayer', adds the date 1570. This is, of course, a guess, but is an unusually happy one, being probably not more than a year wrong. Chetwood's entry is reproduced by Baker in 1764 and Reed in 1782. But the latter, having evidently seen the play, of which he gives an elaborate and correct account, has a duplicate entry under William Wager. He also, under *Tom Tyler* and the *Trial of Chivalry*, follows Baker in repeating Langbaine's denial that these plays were the work of William Wayer—which, of course, no one had ever asserted. In the revision of Baker and Reed by Stephen Jones in 1812 Wager safely established his claim to *The Longer thou Livest*, and has not again been dispossessed. But Wayer still maintained a sort of pseudo-existence. Not only is his authorship of *Tom Tyler* and the *Trial of Chivalry* denied under the headings of those plays, but it is in a manner asserted under that of his own name. Halliwell appears to have been the first to realize that 'Wayer' was nothing but a misprint for 'Wager', and to contradict what Phillips really had asserted. Nevertheless, William Wayer found a last refuge in the General Catalogue of Printed Books at the British Museum as the conjectured author of *Tom Tyler* and the *Trial of Chivalry*.

But this is only half the story, for there remains the *Cruel Debtor*. This, as we have seen, was entered in 1565-6 as by an unspecified Wager. Apparently the actual publication was anonymous: at least both Archer and Kirkman record the play without giving any author's name. So does Langbaine, quoting

Kirkman. Gildon merely adds that he had not seen the play. Nor, doubtless, had Chetwood, but he nevertheless added the date 1669—a bad shot even for him. It is not a misprint, for he classes the piece among post-Restoration plays. Baker only adds that it was in quarto—another guess, but a pretty safe one. By 1782, when Reed wrote, the entry in the Register had been discovered, and one might have expected that one of the Wagers might have got the credit of the play. But so persistent a ghost was Wayer that Reed, in spite of the fact that he had discovered that *The Longer thou Livest* was by Wager, actually gave the *Cruel Debtor* to Wayer. His entry of the play was copied by Jones. Halliwell is again the first bibliographer to substitute Wager for Wayer, perhaps on the authority of Collier's *Extracts from the Registers*, 1848-9. Still, however, the author of the *Cruel Debtor* remained unchristened. This operation was performed by W. C. Hazlitt in 1864, when in his *Handbook* he gave this play along with *The Longer thou Livest* under the heading 'William' Wager. He has been followed by subsequent authorities, including the British Museum Catalogue. The Dictionary of National Biography, in a more than usually incorrect notice under William Wager, includes the *Cruel Debtor* with a proper warning that the personal name is not recorded, but gives no indication that the expansion of W. to William is equally void of authority.

The three points which emerge from the confusion are that Wayer is a myth, that the name for which W. Wager's initial stands is unknown, and that there is no external evidence to decide which of the two known Wagers, if either, was the author of the *Cruel Debtor*. The ascription of *Tom Tyler* and the *Trial of Chivalry* to W. Wager are seen to rest on a mere misunderstanding.

And now, having endeavoured to show what amount of reliance should be placed on the statements of these bibliographical and dramatical 'authorities', I will proceed to the enumeration of their works.

The earliest information we obtain as to actually printed plays

comes from advertisement lists appended by some publishers to their books. These usually include lists of works already published, of works in the press, and of works in contemplation. They might be of greater value were they more frequently dated, but we are often left to infer the date of the list from that of the book to which it is appended, and we sometimes find the same list appended to books of different dates. As it is, the information supplied by the lists is not usually of very great value. It is occasionally useful in tracing the trade connexion of different stationers, and one or two general points of interest emerge, for instance that there must have been an important trade in 'remainders'. Now and again, too, the lists throw light on obscure points of dramatic bibliography: thus we discover that somewhere about 1657 Moseley was trying to palm off the remainder of the second volume of the Jonson folio, after the stock of '1631' plays had given out, as 'The third Volum' of Jonson's Works, and was selling the 1641 folio of the *Devil is an Ass* separately. It is also possible that two of Moseley's lists may enable us to identify Carlell's lost play, the *Spartan Ladies*, with the *Deserving Favourite*. The dramatic entries of certain of these lists have been collected and printed in an appendix to the *List of Masques* issued by the Bibliographical Society. But there exist a good many others, some of greater importance. A complete descriptive catalogue of the lists say from 1650 to 1670 might be useful, but it would be difficult to compile as they are in many cases hard to find.

There are next those lists, some four in number, that owe their existence to the early second-hand traffic in printed plays. These too have been printed in an appendix to the Bibliographical Society's *List of Masques*. The earliest is that appended by Richard Rogers and William Ley to their edition of the *Careless Shepherdess* in 1656. Nothing is said as to the plays being for sale, but such seems probably to have been the occasion of the list. It is a mere catalogue of titles, often very inaccurate, and with authors' names only occasionally added. The same year saw the appearance of the second list, that appended

by Edward Archer to his edition of the *Old Law*. This catalogue is somewhat amplified from its predecessor, authors being usually indicated and letters added to show the nature of the piece. The plays enumerated are definitely said to be on sale at Archer's shop in Little Britain or at Robert Pollard's in Threadneedle Street. An advance both in accuracy and comprehensiveness was achieved by Francis Kirkman, the first of whose lists was appended to some copies at least of *Tom Tyler* in 1661. This was a joint undertaking, and the list of booksellers at whose shops the plays were to be obtained includes, besides Kirkman, Nathaniel Brook, Thomas Johnson, and Henry Marsh. The full responsibility for this list was, however, claimed by Kirkman in the interesting Advertisement which he added to his second list, appended to his edition of Dancer's translation of Corneille's *Nicomede* in 1671. He gives the total number of plays down to that date as 806: this includes masques. Kirkman, who began collecting about 1650 and had 'conversed with, and enquired of those who had been collecting' for thirty years before that, was in a position to have obtained a good deal of traditional knowledge which is not open to us. From this point of view his lists are a disappointment. It seems impossible to show that any of his ascriptions, at least of plays belonging to the first half of the seventeenth century or earlier, rest on any good tradition, and many of them are open to very serious criticism. On the whole it would seem that Kirkman's lists give a good view of what was known or supposed about the bibliography of the early drama in the third quarter of the seventeenth century, but that they in no way deserve to be regarded as actual historical authorities. Langbaine mentions a reprint of Kirkman's later list in 1680, characterized by the very blunders and misconceptions of which Phillips had been guilty. It does not seem to have been known to any subsequent bibliographer, and I have been unable to find it.

Kirkman was something of a literary antiquary and seems to have taken a real interest in collecting and recording the remains of the earlier drama. But it must not be forgotten that

at least a considerable if not the main part of his object was to keep his catalogue up to date and give information about the latest novelties that were to be had at his shop. And this motive plays a part in all subsequent lists down to the *Biographia Dramatica* of 1812. Different editors and compilers may be differently interested in the archaeological and what one might almost call the journalistic sides of their work, but in no case is it fair to judge the compiler solely by the test of antiquarian accuracy which we are instinctively inclined to apply. And there are a number of lists to which it would be manifestly absurd to apply any such test at all. The editor's sole concern has been to bring a previous list 'up to date' by including the latest productions. Sometimes he merely adds to a previous list of the same nature, sometimes he works on a basis of the more elaborate bibliographers. But for our purposes he is negligible. It may be well to mention such lists briefly in this place and then to take no further notice of them. They are of no authority for our purpose and should on no account be quoted.

The earliest seem to have been some lists published by W. Mears at the Lamb without Temple-Bar. The first of these, called 'A True and Exact Catalogue', was 'continued down to October, 1713' and issued the same year. It is in quarto and in arrangement and intention follows Kirkman's lists of the previous century. A 'Continuation of the following [sic] Catalogue of Plays to October, 1715' is a single-leaf addition. The introduction to Reed's *Biographia Dramatica* of 1782 mentions a list of Mears' in 1714, but of this I have found no trace. The work was republished as 'A Compleat Catalogue . . . Continued to this present year, 1726' in duodecimo form and describing itself as 'The Second Edition'. As a matter of fact, however, this is something of a fraud. There must have been a 'First Edition' of this duodecimo in 1718, and this 'Second Edition' is nothing but a re-issue with a cancel title-page. The work consists of two parts; the first, a list digested under authors, in which it will be noticed that there is no date later than 1718, the second, a list of titles which actually preserves its original



heading 'A True and Exact Catalogue . . . Continu'd down to June, 1718'. At the end are four leaves of 'Appendix' containing some later titles and evidently forming a subsequent addition. A still more elementary publication is 'A True and Exact Catalogue . . . Continu'd down to April 1732', printed for W. Feales at the Rowe's Head and appended to an edition of three of Jonson's plays (*Volpone, Alchemist, Epicoene*). It is a mere bookseller's list and does not even give authors' names. More than half a century later, and of a far more elaborate and trustworthy nature, is 'Egerton's Theatrical Remembrancer . . . to the End of the Year 1787', published by T. and J. Egerton, Whitehall, 1788. It was not, however, an original work, being in substance a mere abbreviation of the *Biographia Dramatica* of 1782. In 1792 followed 'another volume, of similar size, entitled *A new Theatrical Dictionary*', which I have not seen, but as Stephen Jones describes it as 'a very brief abridgment (executed with little industry, and less taste) of the last edition of the' *Biographia Dramatica*, I take it to be substantially the same as the *Remembrancer*. Egerton's *Remembrancer* evidently became a popular handlist, for in 1801 Messrs. Barker and Son published at their Dramatic Repository, Great Russell Street, Covent Garden, a 'Continuation' containing copious addenda to the former work and bringing it down from 1787 to 1801. The work, which also contained a complete list of plays 'from the Commencement', was edited by W. C. Oulton, and a re-issue appeared, with a new title-page describing it as 'Barker's Complete List of Plays' and an appendix bringing it down to 1803. Lastly in 1814 appeared, as published by J. Barker, 'The Drama Recorded; or, Barker's List of Plays' digested under titles with dates and authors appended. Some 7000 titles are recorded. I now return to the more important bibliographers.

Two writers must first engage our attention who did not confine their labours to dramatic authors, and consequently lie rather off our main beat. The earlier of these was Edward Phillips, a nephew of Milton's, who in 1675 published a compilation called 'Theatrum Poetarum, or a compleat Collection of the

Poets, Especially the most Eminent of all Ages. The Antients distinguish't from the Moderns in their several Alphabets'. The authors are arranged according to the mediaeval fashion under their personal, not their family names. The work has chiefly attracted notice owing to a belief that Milton may himself have been responsible for some of the criticisms contained in its pages. This, however, is no concern of ours at present, for there is no reason to suppose that any one aided Phillips in making the remarkable attributions with which the work abounds. Many, though very far from all, of these were adopted by William Winstanley in his 'Lives of the most Famous English Poets, or the Honour of Parnassus' published in 1687. The chief importance of both these writers lies in the fact that they are the source of a certain number of statements in the more judicious work of Langbaine. Of their value as authorities it is not easy to speak confidently. Were some one to extract and tabulate all their ascriptions that do not rest on obvious evidence, it might be easier to come to some conclusion as to the sources from which they drew their information, but the reader can hardly feel much confidence in Phillips at least, when he finds him crediting T. Newton with *Tamburlaine*, Marston with 'the *Faithful Sheaphheard*', R. Baron with *Dick Scorne* and the *Marriage of Wit and Science*, T. May with the *Old Wives Tale* and *Orlando Furioso*, and John Heywood with the *Pinner of Wakefield* and '*Philotus Scotch*', all of these attributions being traceable to the misunderstanding as regards Kirkman's entries of which mention has already been made.

We next come to a writer who is worthily regarded as the father of English dramatic bibliography, Gerard Langbaine the younger. Having, as he confesses, neglected the opportunity of acquiring a classical education and feeling no inclination for any serious career which London had to offer, he retired early to Oxford and devoted himself to the reading of modern romances and plays. He died in the summer of 1692 before he had completed his thirty-sixth year. His first work, generally known as *Momus Triumphans*, was a catalogue of plays digested under

authors, with addition of letters indicating their nature and a note of the size, but without dates. So far it did not differ materially from previous lists. What lends it a distinction of its own are the abundant footnotes giving the sources of the plots, the result of Langbaine's wide and varied reading. The original title of the quarto runs: 'Momus Triumphans: or, the Plagiaries of the English Stage; Expos'd in a Catalogue of all the Comedies, Tragi-Comedies, Masques, Tragedies, Opera's, Pastorals, Interludes, &c. both Ancient and Modern, that were ever yet Printed in English. The Names of their Known and Supposed Authors. Their several Volumes and Editions: With an Account of the various Originals, as well English, French, and Italian, as Greek and Latine; from whence most of them have Stole their Plots. By Gerard Langbaine Esq; Indice non opus est nostris, nec vindice Libris: Stat contra dicitq; tibi tua Pagina, Fures. Mart. London: Printed for Nicholas Cox, and are to be Sold by him in Oxford. MDC LXXXVIII.' According to the Dictionary of National Biography there is a variant title-page giving as publisher S. Holford of London. These issues are said to have appeared in November 1687. In December the remainder of the stock was issued with a wholly new title-page describing the work as 'A New Catalogue of English Plays' and an advertisement stating that Langbaine was responsible neither for the earlier title nor the uncorrected state of the preface. Of the spurious issue five hundred copies are said to have been sold. It is certainly the commoner of the two and the only one I have been able to see. Encouraged by the success which attended his venture in spite of its mishaps, which he attributed to 'the Malice and poor Designes of some of the Poets and their Agents', Langbaine set to work to compile his larger and better known work which appeared in 1691, the year before his early death. The title of this octavo runs: 'An Account of the English Dramatick Poets. Or, Some Observations and Remarks on the Lives and Writings, of all those that have Publish'd either Comedies, Tragedies, Tragi-Comedies, Pastorals, Masques, Interludes, Farces, or Opera's in the English Tongue. By

Gerard Langbaine. Oxford, Printed by L.L. for George West, and Henry Clements. An. Dom. 1691.' The work consists of an alphabetical list of authors' names, under which the compiler has collected whatever information he could discover as to the life and writings of each. At the end is a list of 'Supposed Authors', that is, authors known by initials only, and of anonymous plays. As to his authorities, he mentions Phillips and Winstanley in his Preface without acknowledging any particular debt, though he not infrequently quotes them in the course of the book, and specifically cites Fuller, Lloyd, and Wood as his chief authorities apart from the communications of living persons. His criticisms may not be of great consequence, though certainly as good as those of some who have attacked him, but his supreme merit as an historian is that he seldom if ever pretends to knowledge that he does not possess. His frequent remark that he had not seen some play which he mentions is a welcome guarantee of honesty sadly lacking in some of his successors. Langbaine's volume has gained a reputation even beyond what is due to its intrinsic merits through being used as the repository of notes by later bibliographers and critics. The most important of these was William Oldys (1696-1761) who annotated two separate copies. One of these is now in the British Museum (C. 28. g. 1). The other passed into the possession of Thomas Coxeter (1689-1747), whose own collections, contained in a copy of Jacob's *Register*, are said to have been used by both Baker and Warton. Several private copies of Oldys' notes are extant: that made by Malone is in the Bodleian Library.

Before the end of the century there appeared an octavo volume entitled 'The Lives and Characters of the English Dramatick Poets . . . First begun by Mr. Langbain, improv'd and continued down to this Time, by a Careful Hand'. The head-title speaks of 'all the Plays, Printed to the Year, 1698', and the volume, the original title-page to which is undated, was issued before 6 September of that year, as is proved by a manuscript note in a copy at Trinity College, Cambridge. The following year the title-page

was altered by the insertion of the date 1699. This digest, abridgement, and continuation of Langbaine, for it is nothing more, is usually ascribed to Charles Gildon, who seems indeed to have been the general editor. He, however, tells us in the Preface that the work was not all by one hand, and it was doubtless one of his friendly helpers who wrote the lengthy and flattering, though not wholly uncritical, account of Gildon himself which appears in the Appendix. The Preface also acknowledges the editor's indebtedness to 'the ingenious Mr. Ash's admirable Collection of English Plays', which had enabled him to supply deficiencies in his predecessor's work. It is indeed evident that in a few cases Gildon had seen early plays which Langbaine had not, as in the case of Wager's *The Longer thou Livest*.

Just a score of years later appeared a more ambitious undertaking, the first dramatic Biographia illustrated with portraits. The title is 'The Poetical Register: or, the Lives and Characters of the English Dramatick Poets. With an Account of their Writings. London: Printed for E. Curll, in Fleetstreet. M DCC XIX.' There is a later issue bearing the date 1723. The Dedication is signed G. J., initials which we learn from the companion Register of non-dramatic writers to be those of Giles Jacob. The work is based, as the Preface confesses, on Langbaine. But the dependence is not very close, and the matter appears to be taken sometimes direct and sometimes by way of Gildon's revision. However, Jacob can hardly claim to be an independent authority for the earlier period.

In 1747 was published 'Scanderbeg: or, Love and Liberty. A Tragedy. Written by the late Thomas Whincop, Esq.' To this was appended 'A Compleat List of all the English Dramatic Poets, and of all the Plays ever printed in the English Language, to the Present Year M, DCC, XLVII.' The list was nominally edited by Whincop's widow Martha, Whincop having died in 1730, but it seems to have been partly written and probably wholly revised by John Mottley, who inserted a long account of himself. The list contains small medallion portraits. For the earlier period it appears to be chiefly based on Gildon, but con-

tains some original information. It is the first list divided into periods.

We next come to the exasperating Chetwood—William Rufus Chetwood—prompter at Drury Lane and at Dublin, dramatist, bookseller, and translator, who died in 1766. His work which concerns us here is 'The British Theatre. Containing the Lives of the English Dramatic Poets; with an Account of all their Plays', originally published at Dublin in 1750 and re-issued with a London title-page dated 1752. Whether this book is of any value for contemporary matters I do not know, but for the earlier period I am convinced it is the source of nothing but error. The position held by Chetwood for nearly twenty years at Drury Lane must have given him considerable opportunities for collecting information, but there seems no evidence that he made any systematic use of them, while his historical competence may be gauged by the fact that he thought the fifteenth century began in 1500. Only two considerations can be advanced in his excuse. One is that at the time of writing he was in prison for debt, with 'nothing in view but the melancholy Prospect of ending the Residue of Life within the Walls', and it may be argued that if he sought to relieve his indigence by what was little better than a fraud, he was not treating society much worse than society had treated him. The other is that the chronological arrangement adopted necessitated assigning dates to undated productions and that a warning is given in the preface that in some cases 'Necessity oblig'd us to have Recourse to Conjecture'. Still there is a point at which guessing becomes almost disingenuous, and there are other details, such as the expansion of titles, the only object of which can have been to produce the impression of having information which in point of fact the writer did not possess. Extenuating circumstances may be admitted, but it is impossible wholly to acquit Chetwood of deliberate deceit. It should be observed that the preface speaks of Chetwood in the third person, and it may perhaps be questioned how far he really revised the work before publication, but no one seems ever to have questioned his substantial responsibility. A very few

instances from the anonymous plays will show the wildness of Chetwood's guesses, and it will also be noticed that he has added dates of his own, not merely to those productions that were published without any, but to some pieces of which he did not find the actual date recorded by Langbaine and Jacob, even though the original was dated. Thus we find: *London Chantecleres*, 1559, *Bande Ruffe and Cuffee*, 1581, *Arraignement of Paris*, 1598, *Caesar his Revenge*, 1604, 1644, *Promius and Cassandra*, 1633, *The Nice Wanton*, 1634, *Doctor Dodipole*, 1671. The bibliography of Shakespeare is a work of abundant fancy and some humour.

Isaac Reed mentions '*The Theatrical Records*, 12mo. 1756, and *The Playhouse Pocket Companion*, 12mo. 1779' as being 'both built on the same foundation', namely, Chetwood's *British Theatre*. The former of them I have been unable to discover, but conjecture that it may be the same as the 'List of Dramatic Authors and their Works' appended to the fourth edition of 'An Apology for the life of Colley Cibber' which appeared in two small volumes in 1756. This list consists simply of a reprint of Chetwood's with certain additions and is equally worthless. 'The Playhouse Pocket-Companion, or Theatrical Vade-Mecum' is a less direct reprint, all biographical notes being omitted and the whole list of authors' names (each with a bare list of works) being digested alphabetically. The fanciful dates, however, amply betray the source from which the compilation has been made.

Passing over D. E. Baker for the moment, I must record a work of exceptional and original merit which has been singularly neglected by subsequent bibliographers, no doubt owing to its comparative inaccessibility. This is Edward Capell's '*Notitia Dramatica*; or, Tables of Ancient Playes, (from their Beginning, to the Restoration of Charles the second) so many as have been printed, with their several Editions: faithfully compiled and digested in quite new Method, by E. C. With a Preface.' For this publication the British Museum Catalogue gives the conjectural date 1774. It had indeed been written not later than January

1771, but it formed part of the 'School of Shakespeare' which itself constituted the third volume of Capell's 'Notes and Various Readings'. Of this a portion was actually issued with an Advertisement dated 20 Dec. 1774, but this was recalled, and the whole work was not published till 1779 to 1783, being completed after Capell's death which occurred in 1781. The *Notitia* is an entirely original work; the first and almost the last of dramatic catalogues to possess strict bibliographical merit. It consists first of an alphabetical list of plays giving the authors, and not only the date, but the printer and publisher of every edition known to the compiler, with references to collected editions; next a list of these collected editions, alphabetically under authors or, in the few anonymous cases, titles; then an alphabetical list of authors with the plays assigned to each, followed by a table of joint authorship; and lastly a (rather eccentric) chronological list of authors and anonymous titles. Langbaine is used as an authority for authorship, and so too are the early catalogues, the information derived from the latter being, however, typographically distinguished.

There remain to be mentioned three important works: 'The Companion to the Play-House: or, An Historical Account of all the Dramatic Writers (and their Works) that have appeared in Great Britain and Ireland, from the Commencement of our Theatrical Exhibitions, down to the Present Year 1764' in two volumes ascribed to David Erskine Baker, a grandson of Defoe, (though the dedication to Garrick is subscribed \*\*\*\*\*\*) ; 'Biographia Dramatica, or, A Companion to the Playhouse . . . By David Erskine Baker, Esq. A new Edition: Carefully corrected; greatly enlarged; and continued from 1764 to 1782' in two volumes by Isaac Reed; and the same 'brought down to the End of November 1811, with very considerable Additions and Improvements throughout, by Stephen Jones', three volumes in four published in 1812. These agree in being divided into two parts, one biographical under an alphabetical list of authors including a list of the works of each, the other bibliographical giving details concerning individual plays under an alpha-



betical list of titles. Baker's original publication is a diligent and intelligent compilation from various sources and a work of considerable learning and value. It was however written at a time when historical criticism was only just beginning to be applied to the English drama and it necessarily soon became out of date. Its defects were well supplied by Reed, the modesty of whose Advertisement is proportionate to the thoroughness of his work, and who perhaps has done more than any other man to reduce dramatic bibliography to order. Nevertheless it must be confessed that both Baker and Reed allowed many obvious errors to stand uncorrected, and were not always as cautious in accepting the statements of their predecessors as experience might have suggested. Stephen Jones had a great opportunity, and he undoubtedly produced a work which was not only a considerable advance on those that had gone before, but one which in many respects remains of value to-day, just one hundred years after it was written. Nevertheless, if the thrashing he received in the pages of the *Quarterly Review* was excessive, it is idle to pretend that it was unmerited, and many venerable absurdities appear in his entries, which are inherited from Chetwood and even from Phillips, and should have been eliminated long before.

Of subsequent work, such as it is, I do not propose to treat. Halliwell's *Dictionary of Old English Plays*, 1860, and W. C. Hazlitt's *Manual for the Collector and Amateur of Old English Plays*, 1892, both stop at the year 1700, and confine themselves to the correction or otherwise of the bibliographical entries of the *Biographia Dramatica*. Both are compilations of the most perfunctory kind by writers who had the whole or at least a large part of the apparatus of modern bibliographical research at their disposal. Of entirely different scope and design are the Lists of English Plays and Masques to 1640 issued by the Bibliographical Society in 1900-2, whose chief merit lies in the fact that they follow in the main the lines laid down in Capell's *Notitia Dramatica*.

For convenience of reference I append a list of the main

catalogues mentioned in chronological order under the names by which they are most conveniently known.

1656 Rogers and Ley.	1719 Jacob.
1656 Archer.	1747 Whincop.
1660 Kirkman, I.	1750 Chetwood.
1670 Kirkman, II.	1756 Cibber.
1675 Phillips.	1764 Baker.
1687 Winstanley.	1782 Reed.
1688 <i>Momus</i> (Langbaine).	1783 Capell.
1691 Langbaine ( <i>Account</i> ).	1812 Jones.
1698 Gildon.	

W. W. GREG.

## A JOTTING BY JOHN AUBREY

JOHN AUBREY began to collect biographical material for Anthony Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses* about February 1680. The gossiping task exactly suited him—'I doe it playingly,' he writes—and by June he had compiled and sent to Wood a manuscript entitled 'Σχεδιάσματα. Brief Lives, part i', to which he afterwards made additions, and which is now Bodleian *Aubrey MS.* 6. Part ii probably followed after no long interval. This part was mutilated by Wood, much to Aubrey's annoyance, and the fragments, collected and arranged in 1792, by Edmund Malone, form *Aubrey MS.* 7. Aubrey's Part iii, entitled 'Auctarium vitarum a  $\mathfrak{A}$  collectarum', has the date of 1681 at the beginning and was in Wood's hands by September of that year. It now constitutes the bulk of the first 68 folios of *Aubrey MS.* 8, but with it are bound up certain loose papers of which one (f. 45) is the leaf here facsimiled. This is covered, both on the *recto* and on the *verso*, with rough notes. The *recto* is wholly devoted to John Ogilby, the dancing-master. The *verso*, the top of which corresponds to the bottom of the *recto*, also contains notes about Ogilby, interspersed with others under the headings 'Jo: Fletcher', 'W. Shakespeare', 'B. Jonson'. The confused arrangement can hardly be made intelligible without the facsimile. Lines 1-4 concern Fletcher; lines 5-8 Ogilby; lines 12-15 Shakespeare; lines 16-22 Jonson, with the exception of line 19 which, though in the midst of the Jonson section, refers to Ogilby. There remain lines 9-11, which are inserted without a heading of their own between the first Ogilby note and the Shakespeare heading, and are apparently marked off by a short diagonal line passing through the initial of Shakespeare's name. Lines 16-22, both the Jonson part and

the Ogilby part (with the exception of five words added to the latter with a different pen), have been originally written in pencil and inked over afterwards. At least two, possibly three, pens have been used for the various notes. The whole of the page has been cancelled with rough criss-cross lines. These seem distinct both from the short line through Shakespeare's name and from two horizontal lines marking off the first Ogilby note from what precedes and follows it. The second Ogilby note has been separately cancelled in a different fashion. A hand later than Aubrey's, probably that of his editor Philip Bliss, has added a heading and two words to the first Ogilby note. I now give, as closely as type permits, the lines (9-16) which immediately precede and follow the Shakespeare heading.

'the more to be admired q. he was not a company keeper lived in Shoreditch, would not be debauched, & if invited to writ; he was in paine.

W. Shakespeare.

Lacy

Q. M<sup>r</sup> Beeston who knows most of him fr M<sup>r</sup>; he lives in Shore-ditch. ~~near North~~ at Hoglane within 6 dores fr Norton-folgate.

Q. etiam for B. Jonson.'

Mr. Andrew Clark prints this entry in *Aubrey's Brief Lives* (1898), i. 97, interpreting Aubrey's 'q' and 'Q' in each case as 'quaere'. I think it is obvious that, although this is right as regards the fifth and eighth lines, the abbreviation in the first line stands for 'quod' or 'quia'. He also, for 'writ', prints 'court'; I have to thank Mr. F. Madan for pointing out this error to me, and to regret that I have been the means, through an *Encyclopaedia Britannica* article, of giving further currency to the inaccurate version of the note. Finally, Mr. Clark raises a serious question of interpretation, for he prints the first three lines as part of a 'Brief Life', not of Shakespeare at all, but of the actor William Beeston. Presumably this represents his matured view of Aubrey's intention, for in the

He kept a

297. ~~1871~~ ~~1872~~ ~~1873~~ ~~1874~~ ~~1875~~ ~~1876~~ ~~1877~~ ~~1878~~ ~~1879~~ ~~1880~~ ~~1881~~ ~~1882~~ ~~1883~~ ~~1884~~ ~~1885~~ ~~1886~~ ~~1887~~ ~~1888~~ ~~1889~~ ~~1890~~ ~~1891~~ ~~1892~~ ~~1893~~ ~~1894~~ ~~1895~~ ~~1896~~ ~~1897~~ ~~1898~~ ~~1899~~ ~~1900~~ ~~1901~~ ~~1902~~ ~~1903~~ ~~1904~~ ~~1905~~ ~~1906~~ ~~1907~~ ~~1908~~ ~~1909~~ ~~1910~~ ~~1911~~ ~~1912~~ ~~1913~~ ~~1914~~ ~~1915~~ ~~1916~~ ~~1917~~ ~~1918~~ ~~1919~~ ~~1920~~ ~~1921~~ ~~1922~~ ~~1923~~ ~~1924~~ ~~1925~~ ~~1926~~ ~~1927~~ ~~1928~~ ~~1929~~ ~~1930~~ ~~1931~~ ~~1932~~ ~~1933~~ ~~1934~~ ~~1935~~ ~~1936~~ ~~1937~~ ~~1938~~ ~~1939~~ ~~1940~~ ~~1941~~ ~~1942~~ ~~1943~~ ~~1944~~ ~~1945~~ ~~1946~~ ~~1947~~ ~~1948~~ ~~1949~~ ~~1950~~ ~~1951~~ ~~1952~~ ~~1953~~ ~~1954~~ ~~1955~~ ~~1956~~ ~~1957~~ ~~1958~~ ~~1959~~ ~~1960~~ ~~1961~~ ~~1962~~ ~~1963~~ ~~1964~~ ~~1965~~ ~~1966~~ ~~1967~~ ~~1968~~ ~~1969~~ ~~1970~~ ~~1971~~ ~~1972~~ ~~1973~~ ~~1974~~ ~~1975~~ ~~1976~~ ~~1977~~ ~~1978~~ ~~1979~~ ~~1980~~ ~~1981~~ ~~1982~~ ~~1983~~ ~~1984~~ ~~1985~~ ~~1986~~ ~~1987~~ ~~1988~~ ~~1989~~ ~~1990~~ ~~1991~~ ~~1992~~ ~~1993~~ ~~1994~~ ~~1995~~ ~~1996~~ ~~1997~~ ~~1998~~ ~~1999~~ ~~2000~~ ~~2001~~ ~~2002~~ ~~2003~~ ~~2004~~ ~~2005~~ ~~2006~~ ~~2007~~ ~~2008~~ ~~2009~~ ~~2010~~ ~~2011~~ ~~2012~~ ~~2013~~ ~~2014~~ ~~2015~~ ~~2016~~ ~~2017~~ ~~2018~~ ~~2019~~ ~~2020~~ ~~2021~~ ~~2022~~ ~~2023~~ ~~2024~~ ~~2025~~ ~~2026~~ ~~2027~~ ~~2028~~ ~~2029~~ ~~2030~~ ~~2031~~ ~~2032~~ ~~2033~~ ~~2034~~ ~~2035~~ ~~2036~~ ~~2037~~ ~~2038~~ ~~2039~~ ~~2040~~ ~~2041~~ ~~2042~~ ~~2043~~ ~~2044~~ ~~2045~~ ~~2046~~ ~~2047~~ ~~2048~~ ~~2049~~ ~~2050~~ ~~2051~~ ~~2052~~ ~~2053~~ ~~2054~~ ~~2055~~ ~~2056~~ ~~2057~~ ~~2058~~ ~~2059~~ ~~2060~~ ~~2061~~ ~~2062~~ ~~2063~~ ~~2064~~ ~~2065~~ ~~2066~~ ~~2067~~ ~~2068~~ ~~2069~~ ~~2070~~ ~~2071~~ ~~2072~~ ~~2073~~ ~~2074~~ ~~2075~~ ~~2076~~ ~~2077~~ ~~2078~~ ~~2079~~ ~~2080~~ ~~2081~~ ~~2082~~ ~~2083~~ ~~2084~~ ~~2085~~ ~~2086~~ ~~2087~~ ~~2088~~ ~~2089~~ ~~2090~~ ~~2091~~ ~~2092~~ ~~2093~~ ~~2094~~ ~~2095~~ ~~2096~~ ~~2097~~ ~~2098~~ ~~2099~~ ~~2100~~ ~~2101~~ ~~2102~~ ~~2103~~ ~~2104~~ ~~2105~~ ~~2106~~ ~~2107~~ ~~2108~~ ~~2109~~ ~~2110~~ ~~2111~~ ~~2112~~ ~~2113~~ ~~2114~~ ~~2115~~ ~~2116~~ ~~2117~~ ~~2118~~ ~~2119~~ ~~2120~~ ~~2121~~ ~~2122~~ ~~2123~~ ~~2124~~ ~~2125~~ ~~2126~~ ~~2127~~ ~~2128~~ ~~2129~~ ~~2130~~ ~~2131~~ ~~2132~~ ~~2133~~ ~~2134~~ ~~2135~~ ~~2136~~ ~~2137~~ ~~2138~~ ~~2139~~ ~~2140~~ ~~2141~~ ~~2142~~ ~~2143~~ ~~2144~~ ~~2145~~ ~~2146~~ ~~2147~~ ~~2148~~ ~~2149~~ ~~2150~~ ~~2151~~ ~~2152~~ ~~2153~~ ~~2154~~ ~~2155~~ ~~2156~~ ~~2157~~ ~~2158~~ ~~2159~~ ~~2160~~ ~~2161~~ ~~2162~~ ~~2163~~ ~~2164~~ ~~2165~~ ~~2166~~ ~~2167~~ ~~2168~~ ~~2169~~ ~~2170~~ ~~2171~~ ~~2172~~ ~~2173~~ ~~2174~~ ~~2175~~ ~~2176~~ ~~2177~~ ~~2178~~ ~~2179~~ ~~2180~~ ~~2181~~ ~~2182~~ ~~2183~~ ~~2184~~ ~~2185~~ ~~2186~~ ~~2187~~ ~~2188~~ ~~2189~~ ~~2190~~ ~~2191~~ ~~2192~~ ~~2193~~ ~~2194~~ ~~2195~~ ~~2196~~ ~~2197~~ ~~2198~~ ~~2199~~ ~~2200~~ ~~2201~~ ~~2202~~ ~~2203~~ ~~2204~~ ~~2205~~ ~~2206~~ ~~2207~~ ~~2208~~ ~~2209~~ ~~2210~~ ~~2211~~ ~~2212~~ ~~2213~~ ~~2214~~ ~~2215~~ ~~2216~~ ~~2217~~ ~~2218~~ ~~2219~~ ~~2220~~ ~~2221~~ ~~2222~~ ~~2223~~ ~~2224~~ ~~2225~~ ~~2226~~ ~~2227~~ ~~2228~~ ~~2229~~ ~~2230~~ ~~2231~~ ~~2232~~ ~~2233~~ ~~2234~~ ~~2235~~ ~~2236~~ ~~2237~~ ~~2238~~ ~~2239~~ ~~2240~~ ~~2241~~ ~~2242~~ ~~2243~~ ~~2244~~ ~~2245~~ ~~2246~~ ~~2247~~ ~~2248~~ ~~2249~~ ~~2250~~ ~~2251~~ ~~2252~~ ~~2253~~ ~~2254~~ ~~2255~~ ~~2256~~ ~~2257~~ ~~2258~~ ~~2259~~ ~~2260~~ ~~2261~~ ~~2262~~ ~~2263~~ ~~2264~~ ~~2265~~ ~~2266~~ ~~2267~~ ~~2268~~ ~~2269~~ ~~2270~~ ~~2271~~ ~~2272~~ ~~2273~~ ~~2274~~ ~~2275~~ ~~2276~~ ~~2277~~ ~~2278~~ ~~2279~~

1000 and told volume in Scotland he was born. 90 (the say)  
that he was to have as good collection however of; place of the  
of Homer. but the matter is still open

His wife died 3 or 4 days before  
1661-1677 - relative unknown.

paper in the *English Historical Review*, xi. 335, in which he first called attention to the Aubrey jottings overlooked by Bliss, he expressed himself as doubtful whether the lines referred to Shakespeare, to Beeston, or to John Ogilby. As far as I am aware, the point has received little attention from Shakespeare's biographers, although the rarity of seventeenth-century allusions to his personality makes it of real importance, and, as I will show, if the retiring character and decent life described are really his, the description may quite conceivably even be at first hand. To me it seems clear that either the words must be intended to be attached to the Shakespeare heading, and if so, must refer to Shakespeare himself, or they must be a continuation of the Fletcher note in lines 1-4. The pen used is apparently the same as that of the Shakespeare note (though the ink of the original seems to me to have dried rather differently), possibly the same as that of the Fletcher note, but clearly different from that of the Ogilby note. Nor do I see how the references can be to Beeston; for in fact Aubrey never set himself to write a life of Beeston at all, and the 'Brief Life' printed under Beeston's name by Mr. Clark is merely an arbitrary collection of passages in Aubrey's papers in which Beeston is mentioned as a source of information upon other men. As between Shakespeare and Fletcher, the problem seems to me extraordinarily difficult, possibly insoluble. Sir G. F. Warner, who has kindly allowed me to submit the facsimile to him, inclines to Shakespeare; Mr. Madan to Fletcher. Even if one could satisfactorily determine the order in which the various notes were made on the page, it would not help much; for the encroachment of the disputed lines on the Shakespeare heading suggests that they in any case were the last written. The similarity of penmanship is rather in favour of Shakespeare. So is the fact that elsewhere Aubrey assigns Fletcher's abode, not to Shoreditch, but to Southwark, at a period before Beaumont's death in 1616 as well as at his own death in 1625 (*Brief Lives*, i. 96). Since the leaf is only one of rough jottings, one would expect to find it used as material elsewhere in Aubrey's manu-

scripts. And in fact there exists a fair copy of the Fletcher and Jonson notes, written out on a small slip attached to f. 54 of *Aubrey's MS.* 8, and duly indexed on f. 5 as part of the *Auctarium*. And this does not contain the disputed lines. Nor are these copied elsewhere. There is no reference to Shakespeare in the *Auctarium* or its index. And the note is not used in the life of Shakespeare which occupies f. 109 of *Aubrey MS.* 6 (Clark, *Brief Lives*, ii. 225), although the statement in the last two lines of this that Shakespeare had been a schoolmaster in the country is indicated in the margin as having been derived 'from M<sup>r</sup> . . . Beeston', and the life must therefore, as is the case with others in *Aubrey MS.* 6, have been worked upon by Aubrey, after he first sent part i of the *Brief Lives* to Wood in June 1680. It does not seem probable that he knew Beeston until 1681. On September 1 of that year he wrote to Wood (*Wood MS.* F. 39, f. 357), 'Did I tell you that I have mett with old M<sup>r</sup> . . . who knew all the old English poets, whose lives I am taking from him : his father was master of the . . . playhouse.' A year later he records 'Old M<sup>r</sup> Beeston, whom M<sup>r</sup>. Dreyden calles the chronicle of the stage died at his house in Bishopsgate street without, about Bartholomew-tyde, 1682. M<sup>r</sup> Shipecy in Somerset-house hath his papers.' I take it that it was the memorandum now under consideration that originally sent Aubrey to Beeston. It would seem that in the summer of 1681 he was compiling material for a life of John Ogilby, a friend of his own, who had died in 1675. Noting this date on *Aubrey MS.* 8, f. 8, he adds 'quaere M<sup>r</sup> Lacy'. John Lacy, a famous actor of the Restoration, had come to London in 1631 and had been apprenticed to Ogilby, who was then in practice as a dancing-master. Aubrey called upon Lacy, and the conversation was not confined to Ogilby, but extended to those great memories of the pre-Restoration stage, Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, and John Fletcher. The leaf forming *Aubrey MS.* 8, f. 45, upon the *recto* of which Lacy is specifically quoted once, and upon the *verso* twice, is the register of this conversation. The most important thing Lacy had told Aubrey was that

he could learn more about Shakespeare and Jonson from Beeston, and to Beeston he resolved to go. It was thus he came to learn that Spenser 'was a little man, wore short haire, little band and little cuffs' (*Aubrey MS.* 8, f. 41) and that Sir John Suckling 'invented the game of cribbage' (*Aubrey MS.* 8 f. 10<sup>v</sup>); very likely the *Auctarium* is still further indebted to Beeston's reminiscences. But was it also from Beeston that Aubrey got the character of Shakespeare, if it is Shakespeare's which he wedged in above the heading on the facsimiled leaf? Or was that part of Lacy's own communication, overlooked when Aubrey first made his notes of that communication, and inserted as an afterthought? The uniformity of the writing with what comes below the heading rather suggests the second hypothesis. In any case, it is probable that Beeston was the original source of the information. The words 'fr[om] M<sup>r</sup>. Lacy' in the second part of the note only indicate that it was Lacy who put Aubrey on the track of Beeston, and not, as they grammatically might suggest, that Beeston's knowledge of Shakespeare was derived from Lacy. Shakespeare had already been dead fifteen years when Lacy first came to London; Beeston's memory, especially if aided out by his father's, would go a great deal further back. The Beestons were an old theatrical family. 'Beeston and his felowes' are recorded as acting at Barnstaple in 1560-1 (Murray, *English Dramatic Companies*, ii. 198). One of the clan, I take it, was the dedicatee of Nash's *Strange Newes of the Intercepting of Certain Letters* (1592), whom he addresses as 'Maister Apollonius' and 'Gentle M. William'. Christopher Beeston was one of the Chamberlain's men in 1598. Thereafter he joined the Earl of Worcester's men, who became Queen Anne's men, and had as fellow in 1604 and 1609 a Robert Beeston, of whom no more is heard. Christopher, who bore the *alias* of Hutcheson, remained with the Queen's men until 1619. He seems to have built or acquired the Cockpit, and to have successively housed there Queen Anne's men (1617-19), Prince Charles's men (1619-22), Lady Elizabeth's men (1622-5), Queen Henrietta's men (1625-37), and 'the King's and Queen's young company', also



known as 'Beeston's boys' (1637). In May 1637 he was summoned before the Privy Council for playing in a time of inhibition, and with him was William Beeston, who thus makes his first appearance in stage annals (cf. p. 392 of these *Collections*). The company was revived at the Cockpit in the autumn, and when Christopher Beeston died about 1639, the direction of it passed first to Sir William Davenant, and then to William Beeston, who is described in August of that year as 'William Bieston, gent. governor of the kings and queenes young company of players' (*Variorum* of 1821, iii. 159). He appears also in a Household list of 1641 (*Lord Chamberlain's Records*, 3, 1) as 'Governor of y<sup>e</sup> Cockpitt Players'. In 1640 he had been committed to the Marshalsea for playing without license during a period of inhibition. After Christopher Beeston's death the lease of the Cockpit was held by Mrs. Elizabeth Beeston, alias Hutcheson (*Variorum* of 1821, iii. 241, 242). She must have been Christopher's second wife; a wife named Jane, who was a recusant, is mentioned in 1615-17; and William, who himself appears in a list of suspected recusants in 1680, being then of St. Leonard's, Shoreditch, was probably her son (*Middlesex County Records*, ii. 107, 110, 114, 120, 128; iv. 145). Aubrey's description of William Beeston, whose name had slipped his memory, to Wood confirms Malone's conjecture that he was the son of Christopher, and presumably the playhouse, the name of which also slipped Aubrey's memory, was the Cockpit. William Beeston's father, then, was Shakespeare's fellow in the Chamberlain's company about 1598, and must have known him intimately. William himself may quite well have had a boyhood's memory of the poet. I may add that a testimony to his knowledge of stage affairs, earlier than that of Aubrey, is borne by Francis Kirkman, who in dedicating to him *The Loves and Adventures of Clerio and Logia* (1652) writes, 'Divers times (in my hearing) to the admiration of the whole Company, you have most judiciously discoursed of Poësie . . . who are the happiest interpreter and judg of our English Stage-Playes the Nation ever produced; which the Poets and Actors of these times



cannot (without ingratitude) deny: for I have heard the chief, and most ingenious of them, acknowledg their Fame & Profits essentially sprung from your instructions, judgment and fancy.' Kirkman also mentions Beeston's son George, who is stated by Mr. Sidney Lee (*Nineteenth Century*, Feb. 1902) to have continued the histrionic tradition of his family. I do not know whether it is the father or the son who appears amongst the King's company at Drury Lane soon after the Restoration, taking amongst other parts that of Roderigo in *Othello* on February 6, 1669. It must clearly have been the son who took Roderigo in the later revival of 1687 (Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus*, ed. Knight, xxxiv, 2, 7, 10; Pepys, *Diary*, ed. Wheatley, viii. 105, 217).

E. K. C.

*September 24, 1911.*

## TWO EARLY PLAYER-LISTS

### I. THE EARL OF LEICESTER'S MEN, 1572

THE letter here printed is preserved amongst the manuscripts of the Marquis of Bath at Longleat, Wilts, and is calendared as F. 10 (213) in the report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission (iii. 200) upon that collection. It was published by Canon J. E. Jackson in *Notes and Queries* for May 4, 1867 (3rd Series, xi. 350), but failed to attract the attention of historians of the stage. The Society owes the present transcript to the kindness of the Marquis of Bath and of his librarian, Mr. T. E. Alexander.

‘To the right honorable Earle of Lecester, their good  
lord and master.’

‘Maye yt please your honour to understande that foras-  
muche as there is a certayne Procalmacion out for the revivinge  
of a Statute as touchinge retayners, as your Lordshippe knoweth  
better than we can enforme you thereof: We therfore, your humble  
Servaunts and daylye Oratours your players, for avoydinge all  
inconvenients that maye growe by reason of the saide Statute, are  
bold to trouble your Lordshippe with this our Suite, humblie  
desiringe your honor that (as you have bene alwayes our good  
Lord and Master) you will now vouchsaaffe to reteyne us at this  
present as your houshold Servaunts and daylie wayters, not that  
we meane to crave any further stipend or benefite at your Lord-  
shippes handes but our Lyveries as we have had, and also your

honors License to certifie that we are your houshold Servaunts when we shall have occasion to travayle amongst our frendes as we do usuallie once a yere, and as other noble-mens Players do and have done in tyme past, Wherebie we maye enjoye our facultie in your Lordshippes name as we have done hertofore. Thus beyinge bound and readye to be alwayes at your Lordshippes comandmente we committ your honor to the tuition of the Almightye.

Long may your Lordshippe live in peace,

A pere of noblest peres:

In helth welth and prosperitie

Redoubling Nestor's yeres.

Your Lordshippes Servaunts most bounden

James Burbage.

John Perkinne.

John Lañham.

Willm Iohnson.

Roberte Wilson.

Thomas Clarke.'

[*Docketed by a Secretary*]

'Yr L. players.'

The letter is not dated, but the date can be readily supplied. The proclamation against retainers, out of which it arose, was issued on January 3, 1572, and notified the intention of the government to enforce from the coming February 20 certain fifteenth century statutes against the granting of liveries by lords to other than their actual servants, which, since the firm establishment of the royal power which they were originally meant to safeguard, had fallen into disuse. As the bearing of these laws upon the status of the companies of players travelling under the protection of noblemen had hitherto escaped notice, the text of the proclamation follows, from the collection of original sheets made by Humphrey Dyson in 1618, under the title of *A Booke containing all such Proclamations, as were published during the Raigne of the late Queene Elizabeth*, of which a copy, with the press-mark G. 6463, is in the British Museum.

By the Queene.

\* A proclamation for the execution of the lawes made agaynst vnlawful reteynors, &c.

The Queenes Maiestie understanding aswel by her owne careful obseruation of her policie, as by report of suche as haue thadministration of Iustice in her Realme, howe vniuersally the vnlefull reteynnyng of multitude of vnordinary seruantes by lieries, badges, and other signes and tokens, contrary to the good and auncient statutes and lawes of this Realme, doth manifestly withdrawe from her Maiesties crowne, the due seruices of her officers, tenantes, and subiectes, and doth also playnely hynder iustice, and disorder the good policie of the Realme, by mayntenance of vnleful suites and titles, and by stirring vp & nourishing of factions, riots, and vnleful assemblies, the mothers of rebellion, besydes suche other great inconueniences that already are seene, and moe lykely dayly to folowe, yf speedie remedie be not provided, for this purpose is moued with a most earnest intention, to procure a speedie reformation thereof. And because her Maiesties intent is, rather to haue generally her lawes duely obserued, and the defaultes quietly reformed, then the great forfeitures to be leuied, whiche are due to her Maiestie, and myght greatly by iustice enriche her treasure, specially in the streight execution of the sayde lawes, aswel by the persons that haue and do vnlefully reteyne others, as also by them that are so vnlefully reteyned agaynst the lawes: Therefore her Maiestie of her special grace, doth by this her proclamation notifie to al persons, of what estate or degree soeuer the same be, who shal after the .xx. day of Februarie next folowyng, vnlefully reteyne, or be reteyned, in any seruice by lierie, badges, or other token, contrary to the statutes and lawes of this Realme therefore provided, the same shal not haue any manner of fauour or grace of her Maiestie, for any suche offence committed agaynst the sayde lawes, before nor after the same .xx. day. And contrarywyse, whosoever shal vpon this admonition forbear to offende herein, from and after the sayde .xx. day of Februarie next, shal

not be in any wyse impeached at her Maiesties suite, nor shal forfeite any thing to her Maiestie for the same: And so her Maiesties pleasure is, that al her iustices and officers, before whome any suite is, or shalbe commenced for any offence committed, or to be committed, before the sayde .xx. of Februarie, to haue regarde to this her Maiesties gracious dispensation. And for the better execution of the lawes and statutes remaynyng in force agaynst any suche vnleful reteynors, her Maiestie chargeth al manner her iustices and officers, to whom the execution of the same is prescribed, to cause inquisition or examination, accordyng to the sayde lawes, to be made in al places of the Realme, immediatly, or as soone as conuiently they may, after the sayde .xx. day of Februarie: And that al iustices of assise, and gaole deliueries, aswel in townes corporate, and Franchises, as in any Counties, shal at theyr next sessions haue due regarde by good examination and trial, that no person be impanelled in any iurie before them, that is vnlefully reteyned, without due reformation and punishing of the same, for the better example thereof, in theyr open sessions. And further they shal cause a sufficient newe iurie to be charged aparte at the same sessions, diligently for that only purpose, to enquire of the poyntes and articles of al the statutes beyng in force, and specially of the statute made the thirde yeere of her Maiesties noble graundefather Kyng Henry the seuenth, agaynst vnleful reteynors, and geue also some order, that (as the trueth may be therein vnderstande) some good euidence may be geuen to the sayde iurie in that behalfe. And that al other thynges, by the care of the sayde iustices, may be done both at theyr next sessions, and at al other theyr sessions folowyng: Whereby the inconueniences aboue mentioned, may be the more speedily reformed, and the lawes hereafter in this behalfe better kept. And to the intent her Maiestie may be the better satisfied in her earnest desyre, to see the effect of her desyre in this behalfe, her Maiestie willeth, that her sayde iustices of assise, shal after theyr next sessions, at some conuenient tyme, make report to her Maiestie, of theyr doynge and of theyr opinions, for the better execution hereof, as cause


shal require. And further, her Maiestie chargeth all manner of persons, that haue any seruantes vnlefully reteyned, by liuries, badges, or by any other compact, who shal require to be discharged, for any offence punishable, before the sayde .xx. day of Februarie: that they shal before the sayde .xx. day, discharge theyr sayde seruantes so vnlefully reteined, of theyr seruices, in respect of the daunger of the lawes: And therupon the sayd seruants shal accept the said discharge, and shal ceasse to weare the badges, or other tokens whereby they were accustomed to be reteyned, vpon payne that yf the sayde seruantes shal continue to be reteyned vnlefully, in the sayde seruice, or in wearyng of the same badges, or tokens, after the sayde .xx. of Februarie, they shal not be any wyse forborne from punishment for theyr defaultes committed agaynst the lawes before the sayde .xx. of Februarie. And forasmuche as by the sayde statute made in the thirde yecere of her Maiesties noble graunde-father kyng Henry the seuenth, prouision is specially made vpon weyghtie consyderations, by great penalties of forfeitures agaynst sundrie officers, as Stewardes, Auditors, Receauers, and Bayliffes of the Queenes Maiesties Honours, Manours, and landes, and agaynst Constables, or keepers of her Maiesties Castles, Wardens, maisters of games, Parkers, Keepers, or any other officer of her Maiesties Forrestes, Chases, Parkes, or Warrennes, for beyng them selues vnlefully reteyned, or for theyr vnlefull reteynnyng, or for sufferyng to be reteyned any manner of person, dwellyng within theyr sayde offices or rules, without enfourmyng her Maiestie thereof within fourtie dayes, and also agaynst all her Maiesties Farmours, or tenautes of any of her landes, that are or shalbe vnlefully reteyned by any others, vpon payne of forfeiture of theyr Farmes: Her Maiestie hath thought good, specially and perticulerly, for better information, and to auoide ignoraunce, to geue warnyng hereof to al persons hauyng any suche offices, and to al other beyng her Farmours or tenautes, whom the sayde statute may touche, that they also do speedily refourme them selues in the offences therein perticulerly specified, before the sayd .xx. of Februarie, vpon



paine that yf they shall not so doo, her Maiestie assureth theym, that she wyl not in any wyse remit the sayde penalties and forfeitures, whiche by execution of the sayde statutes, and other her lawes, may duely and iustly growe to her for the offences that are or shalbe committed before the sayde .xx. day of Februarie, agaynst the sayde lawes and statutes.

Yeuen at her highnesse pallace of Westminster, the thirde day of Ianuarie, 1571, in the fourteenth yeere of her Maiesties raigne.

God saue the Queene.

 Imprinted at London in Powles Churchyarde, by Richarde Iugge and Iohn Cawood, Printers to the Queenes Maiestie.  
Cum priuilegio Regiae Maiestatis.

The statute more particularly referred to in the proclamation was, *3 Hen. VII*, c. 12 of 1587 (Record Office edition of *Statutes*, ii. 522). This, which bore the title *An Acte agaynst relayning any of the Kyngs tennants*, was for the purpose of strengthening earlier statutes, and imposed penalties on unlawful retaining 'contrarie to eny ordynauce or acte afore this tyme made'. The most important of these earlier ordinances, for the present purpose, was *8 Hen. VI*, c. 4 of 1429 (*R. O. Statutes*, ii. 240), which not only confirmed a provision of *7 Hen. IV*, c. 14 in 1406 (*R. O. Statutes*, ii. 155), by enacting 'that no Knight, nor other of less Estate should give any Livery of Cloths or Hat to other than to his Menials, and his Officers and Men learned in the one Law or the other', but also gave a considerable extension to the principle by a new provision 'that all those that shall take any such Liveries of Cloths or of Hats of any Lord Spiritual or Temporal, or of any great Lady in or of England, against the Form of the said Statutes, they shall be likewise examined and punished in Manner as they that take such Liveries of Knights or other of less Estate'. A confirming Act earlier than that of Henry VII was *8 Edw. IV*, c. 2 of 1468 (*R. O. Statutes*, ii. 426) which imposed a penalty of 100s. a month on those giving

or taking liveries unlawfully. The Elizabethan government issued a second proclamation against retainers on April 19, 1583. This is much in the terms of the proclamation of 1572, and cites both 8 *Edw. IV*, c. 2, and 3 *Hen. VII*, c. 12.

## II. QUEEN ELIZABETH'S MEN, 1588

This certificate is printed from *P. R. O. Lay Subsidies, Household*, 69/97. My attention was called to it by a note of its contents made by Joseph Hunter in *British Museum Additional MS.* 24497, f. 59. This is a note-book described by Hunter as 'Shakespeare. Notes on his Life and Writings, made after the publication of my New Illustrations, &c. 1846'. No doubt Hunter came across the document while he was compiling his inventory of the Earlier Lay Subsidy records (up to 1585) for the 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 5th Reports of the Deputy Keeper of the Rolls. He would have saved me some trouble if he had included an exact reference to it in his note.

Sir Frauncis Knolles knight Treasurer of the Queenes Ma<sup>ties</sup> moste honorable housholde S<sup>r</sup> Thomas Henneage knight vicechambelaine of her Ma<sup>ty</sup> moste honorable Chambre and Gregorie Lovell esquier Cofferer of the saide housholde Comissioners for her Highnes moste honorable housholde and chamber, named and appointed amongst others for the ratinge taxinge assessynge levyinge and (gathe)ringe of the firste paymente of the Subsidie graunted to her Ma<sup>tie</sup> of her lay Subiecty by acte of p<sup>li</sup>amemente holden at Westm̄ in the xxix<sup>th</sup> yeare of her highnes moste noble Raigne Do certesye the right honorable the lorde highe Threŕ of Englande, the Barons of her Highnes Exchequer and all other Offycers to whom yt shall apptaine, That Richarde Coxe and Iohn Wyddox gent highe Collecto<sup>r</sup>s for the levyinge and gatheringe of the saide fyrste payment within her Ma<sup>ty</sup> saide housholde and chamber beinge charged in their Estreaty with theis p<sup>er</sup>sons and somes hereafter followinge, That ys to saye

Roberte Legh gentleman vsher <sup>ex<sup>r</sup></sup>xx.s. [Edwarde L . . . . . fgeant  
 at Armes xvij.s.] Mr. Asheley clerke of the Councell being  
 chardged at xxv.li. fee lxvj.s. viij.d, Edwarde Boes keep of the  
 Doggys at xiiij li. fee xxxvij.s <sup>ex<sup>r</sup></sup>iiij.d. havinge no such fees as they  
 saye, Alexander Fenex drummer xlvij.s. <sup>ex<sup>r</sup></sup>Iohn Perkins Trompeter  
 lxiiij.s. at pencion Iohn Machell xxiiij.s. and Tvg (?) Barton  
<sup>ex<sup>r</sup></sup>xxiiij.s. all fower being dead before the Seasment Roberte Tapley  
 of the Robes viij.s. <sup>ex<sup>r</sup></sup>iiij d. The Players, viz. Richarde Tarleton,  
 viij.s. <sup>ex<sup>r</sup></sup>iiij.d. Iohn Laneham viij.s. <sup>ex<sup>r</sup></sup>iiij.d. William Johnson <sup>ex<sup>r</sup></sup>v.s.  
 Iohn Towne viij.s. <sup>ex<sup>r</sup></sup>iiij.d. Iohn Adams viij.s. <sup>ex<sup>r</sup></sup>iiij.d. Iohn Garlande  
<sup>ex<sup>r</sup></sup>vij.s. <sup>ex<sup>r</sup></sup>iiij.d. Iohn Dutton viij.s. <sup>ex<sup>r</sup></sup>iiij.d. Iohn Singer viij.s. <sup>ex<sup>r</sup></sup>iiij.d.  
 Lyonell Cooke viij.s. <sup>ex<sup>r</sup></sup>iiij.d. and [Davy Duboys armor<sup>r</sup> (?) xij.s.]  
 have not or at any tyme since the cominge of theastrete to  
 their handes have not had whiche they coulede come bye to  
 distraine any landes or tenementes, goodes or chattellys, wages  
 or fee within the lymitty of their collection to their knowledge.  
 In witnes wherof we the saide Comissioners to this our certifycat,  
 have sette our handes and seales the laste of Iune in the xxx<sup>th</sup>  
 yeare of the Raigne of our soveraigne Ladie Elizabeth, by the  
 grace of God Queene of Englande Fraunce and Ireland defendor  
 of the faythe &c.

I doe svbscrybe herevnto vppon Mr  
 Cofferers credytt & his Klerkes

F. Knollys.  
 [seal]

[wax for seal]

Gregor. Lovell  
 [seal]

ex<sup>r</sup>. p Coxe.

The words enclosed in square brackets in the above text are scored through in the manuscript. I have added five conjectural letters in angular brackets where a hole occurs. The interlineated notes 'Exr' are presumably the result of a check of the certificate by Richard Coxe the collector. I may add that the list considerably extends our knowledge of the composition of the Queen's men, amongst whom John Towne, John Adams, John Garland, and Lionel Cooke must now be reckoned. Adams was one of the Earl of Sussex's men in 1576 (*Modern Language Review*, ii. 5). It also solves Mr. Greg's uncertainty, very proper on the evidence before him, whether the Singer of the Queen's men was John Singer, and disposes of his conjecture, which I venture to think less proper on the evidence, that when Henslowe noted John Towne as witness to a loan in connexion with the Queen's men on May 8, 1593, he meant to note Thomas Towne (*Henslowe's Diary*, ii. 310, 315). I may add that John Towne is described as 'one of her Maiesties plears' in a Nottingham debt-record of July 8, 1597 (W. H. Stevenson, *Nottingham Records*, iv. 244).

E. K. CHAMBERS.

January 16, 1910.

## COMMISSIONS FOR THE CHAPEL

IT was customary to arm the Master of the Children of the Chapel with authority on behalf of the Crown to 'take up' or impress singing boys for the royal service, and to require from the subjects certain specified kinds of assistance in the exercise of his functions. This authority, like the analogous authority given from 1581 onwards to the Master of the Revels (*Tudor Revels*, 62), was conveyed, at any rate from Elizabeth's reign onwards, by a 'commission' issued in the form of letters patent under the great seal in accordance with the procedure explained in vol. i, p. 260, of these *Collections*. Commissions by Elizabeth to Richard Edwardes in 1562 and to William Hunnis in 1567 are in existence, and are printed by C. W. Wallace, *The Children of the Chapel at Blackfriars*, 65. Nathaniel Giles succeeded Hunnis as Master in 1597. The Privy Seal for his commission is dated 3 July, and the patent itself is entered on the dorse of the Patent Roll for 39 Eliz. (part 9, membrane 7), and dated 15 July 1597. The text, which in the main follows the terms of the earlier patents to Edwardes and Hunnis, is also printed by Wallace, *Children of the Chapel*, 61. The authority lapsed with the death of the sovereign, and therefore required renewal upon the accession of James I. The two patents here given were issued to Nathaniel Giles in September 1604 and November 1606 respectively. They differ from the Elizabethan model in many points, upon which it is not here necessary to dwell. They also differ from each other on one point of great interest for the history of the stage. The patent of 1606 contains a proviso forbidding the use of any of the Children of the Chapel in the

capacity of players of interludes. This had been a regular practice during more than one period of Elizabeth's reign, under Edwardes and Hunnis up to 1584 or thereabouts, and again under Nathaniel Giles on some financial arrangement with Henry Evans at the Blackfriars from 1600 to 1602. The abuse of his commission by Giles in order to get suitable boys had brought the partners into trouble with the Star Chamber. In 1604 the boy actors were reconstituted under a new patent as the Children of the Revels to the Queen. The facts now brought to light suggest that the commission continued to be used as a means of recruiting the Revels company, in which Evans, if not Giles himself, retained an interest, and that the prohibition introduced in 1606, although professedly based on religious grounds, may have been not altogether unconnected with the disgrace into which the company was brought by their performance of John Day's *Isle of Gulls* in February of that year (cf. *Modern Language Review*, iv. 158). Collier, who described but did not print the patent of 1604, and was apparently ignorant of that of 1606, found the prohibition in a fresh commission issued to Giles in 1626, upon the accession of Charles I, and assumed that it was then introduced from the first time 'by the strong influence of the clergy' (*II. E. D. P.*, ed. 1879, i. 348, 446). Professor C. W. Wallace, in a paper on *Shakspeare and the Blackfriars* (*Century Magazine*, Sept. 1910), ascribes it to James I, but dates it 'immediately upon coming to the throne', possibly by some confusion with the earlier Jacobean commission of 1604. It is rather curious to observe that even after 1606 the Revels company continued to be described from time to time as the Children of the Chapel. They are so described in the Stationers' Register entry of Middleton's *Your Five Gallants* on 22 March 1608, and in so official a document as the accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber for 1612-13.

E. K. C.

## I

[1604, September 13. Signet Bill for Commission to Nathaniel Giles, Master of the Children of the Chapel, from *P. R. O. Exchequer Treasury of Receipt, Warrants for Privy Seal*, September, 2 James I, No. 40.]

Right trustie and right welbeloved Councillor we greet you well and will and comaund you that vnder our privy Seale being for the tyme in yo<sup>r</sup> Custody you cause our l<sup>res</sup> to be directed to our Chauncello<sup>r</sup> of England comaunding him that vnder o<sup>r</sup> great Seale of England he cause our l<sup>res</sup> to be made forth patenty in forme following. *James* by the grace of god king of England Scotland ffraunce and Irland Defender of the faith &c. To all and singuler Deanes Archdeacons Iustices of peace Maio<sup>rs</sup> Shiriffy Bailiffy Constables and all other our officers and ministers aswell Ecclesiastall as temporall greeting. ffor that it is meet that our Chappell Royall should be furnished w<sup>th</sup> well singing Children from tyme to tyme We have authorised and by these p<sup>nty</sup> for vs our heires and successors do authorise our welbeloved servant Nathanaell Giles Master of our Children of our said Chappell or his Deputie being by his bill subscribed and sealed so authorised. And having this o<sup>r</sup> present comission w<sup>th</sup> him to take such and so many Children as he or his Deputie shall think meet in all Cathedrall Collegiat parish Churches Chappells and schooles where publique teaching of musick is vsed as well w<sup>th</sup>in liberties as w<sup>th</sup>out w<sup>th</sup>in our realmes and dominions any Comission restraint or inhibition to the contrary notw<sup>th</sup>standing. And also at all tymes necessary horses boates barges Cartes Carres and waggons for the conveyance of our said servant his deputie or Children aforesaid from place to place w<sup>th</sup> all manner of necessities apperteyning to him by land or by water at such reasonable prises as by the discrecon of any our said officers shalbe thought sufficient, And also to take vp sufficient lodging for him and the said Children, when they for

our service shall remoue to any place or places, the Charges and expences for fetching of any such Child or Children by our said servant or his Deputie to be paid by the Treasurer of our Chamber for the tyme being of such money of ours as shall come to his handes from tyme to tyme: The same being first rated and allowed by the Lord Chamberlain of our howshold vnder his hand, and the same together w<sup>th</sup> the sight of this our Co<sup>m</sup>ission shalbe to the Tr<sup>e</sup>sr of our Chamber his sufficient discharge. *Provided* also that if our said servant or his Deputie beare<sup>r</sup>s hereof cannot forthw<sup>th</sup> remove the said Child or Childen [sic], when by vertue of this our Co<sup>m</sup>ission he hath taken him<sup>r</sup> or them that then the said Child or Children shall remayne there vntill such tyme as our said servant Nathanaell Giles shall send for him or them. Wherefore we will and Co<sup>m</sup>maund you and every of you to whome this our Co<sup>m</sup>ission shall come to be helping aiding and assisting the bearer hereof to the vttermost of yo<sup>r</sup> power. And also to take sufficient bondes for the forthcoming of any Child or Children that shalbe detayned conveyed or w<sup>th</sup>held from our said servant or his deputie according to the discre<sup>ç</sup>on and authoritie w<sup>ch</sup> is in you. And moreover at the humble peti<sup>ç</sup>on and request of our welbeloved servant Iames Montague Doctor in Divinitie and Deane of our said Chappell Royall And of the said Nathanaell Giles Master of the Children of our said Chapell of our princely care for the advancement helpe and furtherance of such Children as shalbe taken to serve in our said Chappell as aforesaid of our especiall grace certain knowledg and meere motion we have willed ordayned constituted graunted and declared And by these p<sup>nt</sup>y for vs our heires and successors do will ordayne constitute graunt and declare that when and as often as any of the Children of our said Chappell having served in the same by the space of three yeres or more shall by reason of the Chaung of his or their voice or voices become insufficient or vnmeet for the service of vs our heires or successors in the same Chappell that then and from tyme to tyme at all tymes after it shall and may be lawfull vnto the Master of the Children of our said Chappell for the



tyme being by and w<sup>th</sup> the direction and allowance of the Deane of our said Chappell for the tyme being and in the vacancie of a Deane of our said Chappell, then by and w<sup>th</sup> the direction and allowance of two or more of our privy Councell to send or convey any such Child or Children so becoming insufficient or vnmeet for the service of vs our heires and successors in the same Chappell to any Colledg Hall or schoole being of the foundacaõn [sic] of vs or of any our progenitors Kings or Queenes of this our realme of England or whereof we, or any of our progenitors are or have ben called and are accompted founders w<sup>th</sup>in any the vniversities of Oxford or Cambridg or in any other place or schoole whatsoever w<sup>th</sup>in this our Realme of England to be receaved admitted and placed in any of them in the rome and place of a scholer of the foundaõn of any such Colledg hall or schoole and to give pay and allowance vnto the said Child or Children and every of them to be sent as aforesaid all such wages lodging diet instruction teaching and other allowances whatsoever as are paid given or allowed to other scholers in the same Colledges halls or schooles by the foundaõns statuty or orders of the same any law statute Act or ordinance of or in the said Colledges halls or schooles or any of them to the contrary hereof notw<sup>th</sup>standing *Provided* alwayes that there be not at any tyme hereafter by force of this our ordinaõn graunt Constituõn and declaraõn aboue one Child sent or brought to any one Colledg hall or schoole w<sup>th</sup>in the space of three yeres so to be placed admitted and allowed as aforesaid. And we doe also of our speciall grace certain knowledg and meere moõon will and ordayne declare and comaund by theise pñty vnto all and singuler the Deanes Provosty Wardens Masters and governors of all and singuler the said Colledges halls or Schooles by what name or names soeuer they be called or knowne that they doe receave admitt and place all such Child or Children as shalbe sent or brought vnto them by and w<sup>th</sup> the direction and allowance as aforesaid. *In witnes &c.* And these o<sup>r</sup> l<sup>tes</sup> shalbe yo<sup>r</sup> sufficient warrant and discharg in this behalf. Given vnder our Signet at our Castle of Windsor the

seaventhteenth [sic] day of September in the second yere of our raigne of England ffraunce and Irland and of Scotland the eight and thirtith.

Ex p Lake

[*Endorsed*] to our right trustie and right welbeloved Cuncello<sup>r</sup> the Lord Cecyll Viscount Cranborne Keeper of our privy Seale for the tyme being.

[also] *Chappell Commission.*

## II

[1606, November 7. Enrolment of Commission to Nathaniel Giles, Master of the Children of the Chapel, from *P. R. O. Patent Roll*, 4 James I, *pars* 18, *in dorso*.]

Comiss<sup>3</sup> p Nathanieli Iames by the grace of God &c. To  
 Gyles Mag<sup>r</sup>o pueror<sup>4</sup> all and singuler Deanes Archdeacons  
 Capelle Reg<sup>r</sup>/ Iustices of peace Mayors Sheriffes Bay-  
 liffy Constables and all other our Officers  
 and Ministers as well Ecclesiasticall as temporall greetinge. ffor  
 that it is meete our Chappell Royall shoulde be furnished with  
 well singinge Children from tyme to tyme wee haue aucthorised  
 and by these p<sup>s</sup>enty doe aucthorice our welbeloved servaunte  
 Nathaniell Gyles Master of our Children of our saide Chappell  
 or his deputie for whome he will answere beinge by his bill or  
 writinge subscribed and sealed vnder his hande and seale soe  
 aucthorised and havinge this our p<sup>s</sup>ent Comission with him  
 from tyme to tyme as often as occasion shall requier to take  
 suche and soe many children knowen or comonlie called by the  
 name of Choristers or anye others whose parenty or frendes  
 haue or shall putt to learne the arte of Musicke or singinge to  
 the ende to gett theire lyvinge thereby in all or anye Cathedrall  
 Collegiate or parishe Churches Chappells and Schooles where  
 publique teachinge of Musicke is vsed as well within libties as  
 without within this our Realme of Englande and dominions  
 thereof as he or his deputie for whome he will answere as afore-

saide shall thinke meete anye restraunte or inhibiçon to the contrarie notwithstandinge The charges and expenses for fetchinge of anye suche Childe or Children by our saide servaunte or his deputie to be payde by the Treasurer of our Chamber for the tyme beinge of suche money of ours as shall come to his handes from tyme to tyme the same beinge firste rated and allowed by the lorde Chamberlaine of our howseholde vnder his hande And the same together with the sighte of this our Coñmission shalbe to our saide Treasurer of our saide Chamber a sufficient discharge in that behalfe And wee doe allso herebye signifie that after the chaunge of voice and service spent of anye the Children soe taken as aforesaide that suche good order shalbe taken for there p'ferment as by the lorde Chamberlaine of our howseholde vicechamberlaine and Deane of our Chappell for the tyme beinge shalbe thoughte meete and convenient And wee doe further will and comaunde you and eu'ye of you to whome it shall appteyne [sic] to be helpinge aydinge and assistinge to our saide servaunte or his saide deputie in the due execuçon of this our Coñmission as you and eu'ye of you will answere the contrarie at your pills Prouided alwayes and wee doe straightlie charge and comaunde that none of the saide Choristers or Children of the Chappell so to be taken by force of this Coñmission shalbe vsed or imployed as Comedians or Stage players or to exercise or acte anye [sic] or Stage playes Interludes Comedies or tragedies for that it is not fitt or decent that suche as shoulde singe the praises of god Allmightie shoulde be trayned vpp or imployed in suche lascivious and pphane exercises In witnes whereof &c. witnes our selfe at Westm' the seaventh daye of November.

p bře de priuato sigillo &c.

## PLAYS OF THE KING'S MEN IN 1641

THE warrant and schedule here printed are taken from one of the Lord Chamberlain's Warrant Books in the Public Record Office (L. C. 5, 96). They occupy the first of a group of unfoliated written pages towards the end of the volume, most of which is blank. At the top of the page is the entry, 'Julie 24. 1641 My Lord of Essex receaued the staff.' This refers to the appointment of the Earl of Essex as Lord Chamberlain in succession to Philip, Earl of Pembroke and Montgommery. The document has not, so far as I know, been printed before. It is similar in character to two warrants discovered by Malone, and printed in the *Variorum Shakespeare* (1821), iii. 159. The first of these is also a warrant to the Stationers' Company, signed by the Earl of Pembroke, and dated June 10, 1637. It gives protection, in terms much like those used by Essex, to the plays of the King's men, and also to those of 'the king and queenes young company' under Christopher Beeston. Unfortunately no schedules of plays are attached. The second, dated Aug. 10, 1639, is addressed, not to the printers, but to the masters and governors of playhouses other than the Cockpit, and forbids them to act the plays belonging to William Beeston, 'governor of the kings and queenes young company of players' at that house. It contains the well-known list of 'Cockpitt playes appropriated'. One of the plays in this list is *Fathers owne Sonne*, i.e. Beaumont and Fletcher's *Monsieur Thomas*. This was printed in this same year 1639 as 'Acted at the Private House in Blacke Fryers', and it may have been this piratical raid by the King's men upon the Cockpit repertory which

instigated Lord Pembroke's order. The list of 1641 may be taken to include so much of the repertory of the King's men themselves in 1641 as was not already in print. It need not be supposed that they had altogether ceased to act Shakespeare's plays, which had been printed in 1623, or Ben Jonson's, which had been printed between 1616 and 1641 itself. The list contains sixty plays in all. Of these, twenty-seven (*The Wild Goose Chase*, *The Little French Lawyer*, *The Loyal Subject*, *The Spanish Curate*, *The Custom of the Country*, *The Double Marriage*, *A Wife for A Month*, *The Island Princess*, *The Mad Lover*, *The Pilgrim*, *The Woman's Prize*, *The Knight of Malta*, *The Captain*, *The Humourous Lieutenant*, *Bonduca*, *The Chances*, *The Maid of the Mill*, *The Queen of Corinth*, *The Coxcomb*, *The Noble Gentleman*, *The Beggar's Bush*, *The Honest Man's Fortune*, *The Martial Maid*, *Valentinian*, *The Prophetess*, *The Lover's Pilgrimage*, and *The Lover's Progress*) belong to the 'Beaumont and Fletcher' series, and were printed in the 1647 Folio, with the exception of *The Wild Goose Chase*, which followed separately in 1652. It is noticeable that the order of these plays in the list is largely, although not wholly, the same as their order in Robinson and Moseley's Stationers' Register entry of Sept. 4, 1646, as given by Mr. Greg in his paper on *The Bakings of Betsy* in *The Library* for July, 1911. The order in the Folio itself is quite different. The Stationers' Register entry also contains, as additions by a later hand, three plays of the same series (*The Laws of Candy*, *The Women Pleased*, and *The Sea Voyage*) which certainly belonged to the King's men, but are not in the 1641 list. Two other plays of the King's men not in the list are *The False One* and *The Fair Maid of the Inn*, which, although printed in 1647, were not entered in the Register until June 29, 1660, when they were accompanied by *The Nice Valour or the Passionate Madman*. This may, I think, be the play entered in the 1641 list as *The Bridegroom and the Madman*. If so, the list has twenty-eight 'Beaumont and Fletcher' plays. The three other plays of the 1647 volume and the 1660 entry (*Wit at Several Weapons*,

*A Mask, Four Plays or Moral Representations*) are not traceable to the King's men. Of the remaining thirty-two plays in the 1641 list, three (*The City Madam, The Bashful Lover, The Guardian*) and possibly a fourth (*The Woman's Plot*, if really identical with *A Very Woman*, as to which see below) were subsequently printed as Massinger's; three (*The Mayor of Quinborough, More Dissemblers Besides Women, The Widow*) as Middleton's; two (*The Goblins, The Discontented Colonel*, i. e. *Brennoralt*) as Suckling's; five (*The Unfortunate Lovers, The Fair Favourite, The Distresses, Love and Honour, News from Plymouth*) as Davenant's; three (*The Doubtful Heir, The Imposture, The Brothers*) as James Shirley's; one (*Alphonsus, Emperor of Germany*) as Chapman's; one (*The Novella*) as Richard Brome's; one (*The Country Captain*) as the Duke of Newcastle's; and one (*The Passionate Lovers*) as Lodowick Carlell's. Many of these passed through Humphrey Moseley's hands, and their titles appear in the Stationers' Register entries of 1646, 1653, and 1660, printed by Mr. Greg in the *Library* article already referred to. These entries also contain the titles of all the eleven (or twelve) plays of the 1641 list which did not get printed in the seventeenth century. Arthur Wilson's *The Swisser* (printed 1904 from *B.M. Addl. MS.* 36759), and the same author's *The Corporal* (*dramatis personae* only extant in *Bodl. Rawl. Poet. MS.* 9) are in the 1646 entry; and that of Sept. 9, 1653, includes Wilson's *The Inconstant Lady* (printed 1814 from *Bodl. Rawl. Poet. MS.* 9A), Richard Brome's *The Love-sick Maid* (not extant), John Ford's *Beauty in A Trance* (not extant), Cyril Tourneur's *The Nobleman* (not extant), Henry Shirley's *The Spanish Duke of Lerma* (not extant); and Massinger's *Alexius* (not extant, unless it is the fragmentary *Alice and Alexis* of *Bodl. Douce MS.* 171, f. 48<sup>v</sup>), *The Forced Lady* (not extant), *The Fudge* (not extant), and *Minerva's Sacrifice* (not extant). Six of these unprinted plays of 1641 and 1653 also appear in John Warburton's list of the collection of manuscript plays said by him to have been 'burned or put under Pye bottoms' by his servant, about the middle of the eighteenth century. These are

*The Inconstant Lady, Beauty in a Trance, The Forced Lady, Alexius, Minerva's Sacrifice, and The Nobleman.* The list of 1641, it will be observed, does not, any more than Warburton's list, confirm the apparent identification in the 1653 Stationers' Register entry of 'Alexius the Chast Gallant or The Bashful Lover' and 'Minerva's Sacrifice, or y<sup>e</sup> Forc'd Lady' as representing in each case alternative titles for a single play. This must throw some doubt upon the identification of *A Very Woman* with *The Woman's Plot*, which rests upon the authority of the same entry. If the identification is not sound, *The Woman's Plot*, which both Moseley and Warburton ascribe to Massinger, must be lost. I may add to Mr. Greg's note on this play in his *Library* article that the original authority for the performance of *A Woman's Plot* in 1621 is *Inner Temple MS.* 515, No. 7, printed by J. T. Murray, *English Dramatic Companies*, ii. 192.

E. K. C.

Sept. 1911.

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After my hartly Comendaçons. The players which are his Ma<sup>ty</sup> servan<sup>ty</sup> haue addressed them selues vnto mee as formerly to my pr<sup>de</sup>decessors in office, complaining that some Printers are about to Print & publish some of their Playes which hitherto they haue beene vsually restrained from by the Authority of the Lord Chamberlain. Their Request seemes both iust and reasonable, as onely tending to preserue them Masters of their proper Good<sup>s</sup>, which in Iustice ought not to bee made com<sup>on</sup> for another mannes profit to their disadvantage. Vpon this Ground therefore I am induced to require your care (as formerly my Predecessors haue done) that noe Playes belonging to them bee put in Print w<sup>th</sup>out their knowledge & consent. The particulars to which they now lay claime are contained in a List inclosed,

and if any of those Playes shall bee offered to y<sup>e</sup> Presse vnder another name then is in the List expressed, I shall desire yo<sup>r</sup> care that they may not bee defrauded by that meanes but that they may bee made acquainted w<sup>th</sup> it, before they bee recorded in y<sup>r</sup> hall & soe haue Oportunity to shew their right vnto them. And thus not doubting of y<sup>r</sup> ready care herin I bid you hartily farewell & rest

Aug. 7. 1641.

Yo<sup>r</sup> very loueing friend  
Essex

To my very loueing friends  
the Masters & Wardens  
of y<sup>e</sup> Company of Printers  
& Stationers.

A List of y<sup>e</sup> Playes followes.

[col. 1] The wild goose chase.  
The litle french Lawyer.  
The Loyall subject.  
The spanish Curat.  
The Custome o' th Cuntry.  
The double marriage.  
A wife for a moneth.  
The Island Princes.  
The mad Louer.  
The Pilgrim.  
The Maior of Quinborow &c.  
The womans Plott.  
The womans prize &c.  
The Switzar.  
More dissemblers besidewomen.  
The widow.  
The kn<sup>t</sup> of Malta.  
The Nouella.  
The lousick maïd.  
The Captaine.  
[col. 2] The humerous Lieuetennt.  
Bunduca.

The inconstant Lady.  
Chances.  
The maid of the Milk  
The Bridegroom & y<sup>e</sup> Madmã.  
The Queene of Corinth.  
The Coxcombe.  
The noble gentleman.  
Beggars.  
The honest mans fortune.  
The martiall maide.  
Beauty in a Trance.  
The forc'd Lady.  
Alexius.  
The vnfortunate Louers.  
The faire fauorite.  
The Emperour Valentinian.  
The Goblins.  
The distresses.  
The doubtfull heire.  
The Imposture.  
The Country Captaine.  
The discontented Colonell.

[col



# PLAYS OF THE KING'S MEN

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The Brothers.  
 Mineruae's sacrifice.  
 The Judge.  
 The Citty madam.  
 The Corporall.  
 Alfonso Emper<sup>or</sup> of Germany.  
 The Nobleman.  
 The bashfull Louer.  
 Loue & honor.

The 1<sup>st</sup> & 2<sup>d</sup> p<sup>t</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> Passion<sup>t</sup>  
 louer.  
 The Guardian.  
 The Duke of Lerma or y<sup>e</sup>  
 spanish Duke.  
 The Prophetesse.  
 The Louers Pilgrimage.  
 The Louers Progresse.  
 News from Plimouth.

## DRAMATIC RECORDS FROM THE PRIVY COUNCIL REGISTER, 1603-1642

As the indifference of the country to historical research has permitted the Treasury to suspend the publication of the *Acts of the Privy Council* carried on by Sir John Dasent up to the end of the reign of Elizabeth, it has seemed to the Council of the Malone Society worth while to put upon record complete and authoritative texts of all entries in the Privy Council Register during the reigns of James I and Charles I, up to the closing of the theatres in 1642, which bear in any way upon dramatic history. For this purpose, fresh transcripts have been taken of all entries indicated in the excellent manuscript indexes to the Register; a search by sample through several volumes of the Register for unindexed entries of dramatic interest has not produced results sufficient to justify its continuance. The texts now published confirm, with only minor corrections and additions, the substantial accuracy of those given by George Chalmers in *An Apology for the Believers in the Shakespeare-Papers* (1797) and by J. P. Collier in his *History of English Dramatic Poetry* (1837, 2nd ed. 1879). It is matter for regret that the Jacobean Registers do not begin until May 1, 1613; the earlier volumes were probably burnt in the fire which consumed the Whitehall Banqueting House on January 12, 1619. Of this John Chamberlain wrote to Sir Dudley Carleton on January 16 (T. Birch, *Court and Times of James I*, ii. 124): 'One of the greatest losses spoken of, is the burning of all, or most of the writings and papers belonging to the offices of the Signet, Privy Seal and Council Chamber, which were under it.' The loss is very inadequately supplied by the brief abstract of

## III

[1605, December 15. From *British Museum Additional MS.* 11402, f. 109. Not previously printed.]

15 Decemb. [1605.] Līes to the Lo: may<sup>r</sup>, the Iustices of midd<sup>e</sup> & surrey to suffer the K. the Q & the Princes Players, to play & recite their enterlud<sup>s</sup> at their accustomed places.

## IV

[1615, March 29. From *Privy Council Register, James I*, vol. i, fol. 283. Printed by J. P. Collier, *History of English Dramatic Poetry* (ed. 1879), i. 380.]

[Sitting of 29 March 1615.]

A Warrant to Iohn Sentie one of the Messinger<sup>s</sup>.  
Whereas Iohn Hemmings, Richard Burbidge, Christopher Beeston, Robert Lee, William Rowley, Iohn Newton, Thomas Downton, Humphry Ieffs w<sup>th</sup> others Stageplayers in and about the City of London have presumed notwithstanding the comaundem<sup>t</sup> of the Lo: Chamberlayne signified vnto them by the Master of the Revells to play this prohibited time of Lent. Theese are therefore to will and commaund yo<sup>w</sup> to make yo<sup>r</sup> repayre vnto the persons abouenamed, and to charge them in his Ma<sup>t</sup>s name to make their appearance heere before vs of his Ma<sup>t</sup>s Privie Councell on ffriday next at 8 of the Clocke in the forenoone w<sup>th</sup>out any excuse or delay. And in the meane time that neither they, nor the rest of their Company presume to present any Playes or interludes, as they will answeere the contrary at their perills./

## V

[1615, September 26, and 1617, January 27. From *P. C. Register, James I*, ii. 74, 516. Printed by G. Chalmers, *Apology for the Believers*, 463, and therefrom in the *Variorum Shakespeare* (1821), iii. 493, with certain errors, of which

'Sanclers' for 'Sanders' is the most important. The licence for the erection of the theatre, dated June 3, 1615, is printed from the Patent Roll in pt. iii, p. 277, of these *Collections*.]

(1)

[Sitting of 26 September 1615.]

Whereas Complaint was made to this Boarde by the Lo: Mayo<sup>r</sup> and Aldermen of the Cittie of London That one Rosseter, and others havinge obtayned lycense vnder the great Seale of Englande for the buildinge of a Play house haue pulled downe a great Messuage in Puddle wharfe, w<sup>ch</sup> was sometimes the house of the Ladie Sanders w<sup>th</sup>in the Precinct of the Blackfryers,

are nowe erectinge a Newe Playhouse in  
Ordered at the that place, to the great p'iudice and incon-  
Sessions next venience of the Gouverment of that Cittie:  
before. / Their Llps thought fitt to send for Rosseter

to bringe in his L<sup>tes</sup> Patentees, w<sup>ch</sup> beinge seene,  
and p<sup>er</sup>vsed by the Lo: Chiefe Iustice of Englande ffor-  
asmuch as the Inconveniencies vrged by the Lo: Mayo<sup>r</sup> and  
Aldermen were many, and of some consequence to their  
Goverm<sup>t</sup>. And specially for that the said Play house would  
adioyne soe neere vnto the Church in Blackfryers, as it  
would disturbe, and interrupt the Congrega<sup>ti</sup>on at divine Service  
vpon the weeke dayes: And that the Lo: Chiefe Iustice did  
deliver to their Llps. That the Lycense graunted to the said  
Rosseter did extende to the buildinge of a Playhouse w<sup>th</sup>out the  
liberties of London, and not w<sup>th</sup>in the Cittie. It was this day  
ordred by their Llps. That there shalbe noe Play house erected  
in that place, And that the Lo Mayo<sup>r</sup> of London shall straitly  
prohibit, and forbidde the said Rosseter and the rest of the  
Patentees, and their workemen to proceede in the makeinge,  
and convertinge the said Buildinge into a Play house: And if  
any of the Patentees or their workemen shall proceede in their  
intended buildinge contrary to this their Llps. Inhibi<sup>ti</sup>on, that  
then the Lo: Mayo<sup>r</sup> shall co<sup>m</sup>itt him or them soe offendinge,  
vnto Prison and certefie their Llps. of their contempt in that

behalf. Of w<sup>ch</sup> their Llps. order the said Rosseter, and the rest are to take notice, and conforme themselves accordingly as they will aunswere to the contrary at their perrilles.

## (2)

[Sitting of 27 January 1616/7.]

A letter to the Lo: Mayor of London. Whereas his Ma<sup>tie</sup> is informed that notwithstanding diverse Commaundemen<sup>ts</sup> and prohibiçons to the contrary there bee certaine persons that-goe about to sett vp a Play howse in the Blacke ffrya<sup>rs</sup> neere vnto his Ma<sup>ty</sup> Wardrobe, and for that purpose have lately erected and made fitt a Building, w<sup>ch</sup> is allmost if not fully finished, Yo<sup>n</sup> shall vnderstand that his Ma<sup>ty</sup> hath this day expressly signified his pleasure, that the same shalbee pulled downe, so as it bee made vnfit for any such vse, whereof wee Require yo<sup>r</sup> Lo:<sup>ps</sup> to take notice, and to cause it to bee performed accordingly w<sup>th</sup> all speede, and therevpon to certify vs of yo<sup>r</sup> proceeding<sup>s</sup>. And so &c

## VI

[1617, March 5. From *P. C. Register, James I*, ii. 574. Printed by Chalmers, *Apology*, 466 (*Variorum*, iii. 495). Dekker, *Owles Almanack* (1617), identifies the theatre concerned as the Cockpit.]

[Sitting of 5 March 1616/7.]

A Letter to the Lo: Maior & Aldermen of London, and Comissioners of Oyer & Terminer in the citty of London & Countye of Midlesex.

It is not vnknowne vnto yo<sup>w</sup> what tumultuous outrages were yesterday Committed neere vnto the Citty of London in diuerse places, by a Rowte of lewde and loose psons Apprentices and others, especially in Lincolnes Inne feildes and Drewry Lane, where in attempting to pull downe a Playhowse belonging to

the Queenes Ma<sup>ty</sup> Servants, there were diuerse psons slayne, and others hurte and wounded, the multitude there assembled being to the number of many thousand; as wee are credibly informed. fforasmuche as the example of so fowle and insolent a disorder may prove of dangerous consequence if this should escape w<sup>th</sup>out sharpe punishment of the principall Offendo<sup>rs</sup>, Wee doe therfore in his Ma<sup>ty</sup> name expressly require yo<sup>r</sup> Lp: and the rest of the Co<sup>m</sup>missioners of Oyer and Terminer for the Citty of London and Countie of Midlesex, to take it presently into yo<sup>r</sup> Care to haue a strict enquiry made for suche as were of y<sup>e</sup> company aswell Apprentices or others, and furthw<sup>th</sup> to holde a speciall Sessions of Oyer and Terminer for that purpose, and there w<sup>th</sup> severity to proceede against suche as shall be founde Offendo<sup>rs</sup>, as to lawe and Iustice apperteineth, And for that it was also observed that amongst this crew of Apprentices there were an exceeding greate multitude of vagrant Rogues gathered together as there are allwayes about this Citty ready for any mischeife vpon every occasion, a greate dishono<sup>r</sup> and scandall to the Gouernment. Wee are therfore to reco<sup>m</sup>end that also vnto yo<sup>w</sup> from his Ma<sup>ty</sup> as a speciall Charge, that yo<sup>w</sup> doe thincke vpon some Course and put it in execution presently for the dispercyng of that sorte of people and removing of them farre from about the Citties of London & Westm': and the Confines thereof, especially at this present when his Ma<sup>ty</sup> and a greate pte of his Councell are to be absent for so longe a tyme. And as providence and discretion doth now needfully require, since this warning is given yo<sup>w</sup>, to have at all times hereafter an eye and watch vpon the Apprentices likewise, who by this experience and the like where the Reynes of libertye are given them, are founde apte to runne into many vnsufferable insolencies. Touching all these pointy his Ma<sup>ty</sup> will expect a strict and p<sup>t</sup>icular accompte from yo<sup>w</sup> of yo<sup>r</sup> duties, wherof wee wishe yo<sup>w</sup> may acquitt yo<sup>r</sup>selues as becometh yo<sup>w</sup>. And so &c./

## VII

[1617, June 22. From *P. C. Register, James I*, iii. 55. Printed by Chalmers, *Apology*, 492.]

[Sitting of 22 June 1617.]

A letter to S<sup>r</sup>: George Buck knight, M<sup>r</sup>. of the Revells.

Wee are informed that there are certeyne Players or Comedians wee knowe not of what Company, that goe about to play some enterlude concerning the late Marquesse d'Ancre, w<sup>ch</sup> for many respecty wee thincke not fitt to be suffered: Wee doe therefore require yo<sup>w</sup> vpon yo<sup>r</sup> pill to take order that the same be not represented or played in any place about this Citty or ellswhere, where yo<sup>w</sup> haue authoritie. And hereof haue yo<sup>w</sup> a speciall Care. So &c'./

## VIII

[1617, July 11. From *P. C. Register, James I*, iii. 84. Printed by Chalmers, *Apology*, 467 (*Variorum*, iii. 496), and Collier, i. 391. Warrants for payments to players occur regularly in the Elizabethan registers, but the present entry is exceptional in those of James. The accounts of the Treasurer of the Chamber show that in 1615 the duty of signing these warrants was taken over by the Lord Chamberlain. It appears from the accounts that payment was made, at the rate of £10 a play, to John Townsend and Joseph Moore (P. Cunningham, *Extracts from Accounts of the Revels at Court*, xlv). These belonged to the Lady Elizabeth's men.]

[Sitting of 11 July 1617.]

A warrante to the L: Stanhope Trēr of his Ma<sup>ties</sup>: Chamber to cause paym<sup>t</sup> to be made to certaine players for three Stage Playes that were acted before his Ma<sup>tie</sup> in his Iourney to Scotland suche sumes of Money as is vsuall in the like kinde.

## IX

[1618, February 12. From *P. C. Register, James I*, iii. 268. The letter to Middlesex was printed by Collier, i. 394; that to London has not previously been printed.]

(1)

[Sitting of 12 February 1617/8.]

A Lfe to his Ma'. Lieutennauts of the Countie of Midd./

It is well knowne vnto yo<sup>w</sup> what disorder and tumulte was comitted the last Shroue Tuesday in diuers partes aboute the Cittie by the Apprentices and other leude and ill affected persons to the great disturbaunce of his Ma'. peace, and the hurte of many poore men. And though diuers of the offenders were comitted to Newgate, and proceeded w<sup>th</sup>all at the Sessions accordinge to lawe: Yet they are soc farr from beinge warned by that example as they rather take occasion thereby, in regarde that some of their ffellowes were in dainger and punished the last yeare, to cast sedicious lybells into Playhouses in the name of some London ffellowe Apprentices, to Summon others in the Skirtes and Confynes, to meete at the ffortune, and after that to goe to the Playhouses the Redd Bull, and the Cock Pitt, w<sup>ch</sup> they haue designed to rase, and pull downe: besides what further mischiefe may ensue therevpon to the Scandall of Goverment, and the great contempt of his Ma'. lawes. ffor p'vention whereof wee thinke it very expedient: As wee haue addressed o<sup>r</sup> Lfes to the Lo: Mayo<sup>r</sup>. and Aldermen of the Cittie of London, Soe to require yo<sup>w</sup> by virtue of his Ma'. Comission of Lieutennancye directed vnto yo<sup>w</sup>, to take the like Order vpon Shroue Tuesday next, as yo<sup>w</sup> did vpon May day last, by settinge good, and substanciall Watches in such places as shalbe meete, and by appointinge some of the trayned Baundes to bee mustered, and trayned that day, in such convenient places in the Skirtes, and Confynes of the Cittie, as may serue for the Suppressinge of any Ryott, or tumulte, that may happen by the disorder of



such leude people. Whereof wee require yo<sup>w</sup> to haue a speciall care. And soe &c./

(2)

[Same sitting.]

An other of the like teno<sup>r</sup> to the Lo: Mayo<sup>r</sup> and Aldermen of the Cittie of London requireinge them to take speciall, and effectuall order, that every man w<sup>th</sup>in their Iurisdicōn, doe keepe in their Servaunts, and Apprentices, and not suffer any of them to goe abroade that day, and to sett a good, and stronge Watch at each Gate, and such other places, as shalbe meete: And w<sup>th</sup>all to have either the Millitary Bande, or some competent number of the Trayned Bande in a readines for the Suppressinge of any tumultuous disorder that shall happen in that kinde./

## X

[1623, May 30. From *P. C. Register, James I*, v. 735. This does not appear to have been previously printed from the Register, but a copy of the letter as received at Norwich is preserved in the *Liber Ruber Civilatis*, f. 33, and is printed therefrom in *Eastern Counties Collectanea*, i, no. 13, and by J. T. Murray, *English Dramatic Companies*, ii. 359. The text differs so widely from that of the Register, as to suggest that the entry in the latter was made from a rough draft. The Norwich copy, moreover, is dated May 27, 1623, and the signatories are not the same as the Councillors present on May 30.]

[Letter dated 30 May 1623.]

Signed.

Lo: Arch B:<sup>pp</sup> of Cant:

Lo: Treā.

Lo: President.

Lo: Steward.

E: Marshall.

E: of Carlile.

Lo: V: Wallingford.

Lo: Carewe.

Lo: Chichester.

M<sup>r</sup>: Treā.

M<sup>r</sup>: Sec<sup>r</sup>e Caluert.

M<sup>r</sup>: of the Roles.

A lre to the Mayo<sup>r</sup>: of Norwich. Wheras we have received informaçon by M<sup>r</sup>: Gleane, an Alderman of yo<sup>r</sup>: Cittye, that

yo<sup>u</sup>: have beene of late yeares, and are at this p<sup>r</sup>sent, much pestered, and disquietted in the orderly gouernm<sup>t</sup> of yo<sup>r</sup>: Towne, by seuerall Companies of Playe<sup>rs</sup>: Tumblers, and such as Carrie a boutte Pagenty, and shewes, and the lyke: the suffering whereof is alleadged to be more inconvenient to that Cittye, then to most others, by reason it consisty altogether of many seuerall Manufactures, whein [sic] multitudes of people are sett on worke, who being apte to be drawne a way from theire worky, and labour, by this sorte of loose, and wandering people, the said manufactures are in the meane tyme in such sorte neglected, as causeth dayly noe small losse, and dammage, to that City in p<sup>r</sup>ticuler, and is by consequence, noe small hurt and p<sup>r</sup>iudice, to the Co<sup>m</sup>on wealth in generall. Wee takeing the same into o<sup>r</sup>: Considera<sup>co</sup>ns and tenderinge ever the good and welfare of that City, have thought good hereby to pray and require yo<sup>u</sup>: not to suffer any Companies, either of Playe<sup>rs</sup>: or of any the foresaid loose condi<sup>ti</sup>oned people, to act any Playes, or shewe any other of theire feates, and devises, w<sup>th</sup>in that City, and the liberties of the same, vntill yo<sup>u</sup>: shall receive farther order from this Board. And soe wee bid &c.

## XI

[1624, August 18, 21, and 30. From *P. C. Register*, *James I*, vi. 424, 425, 428, 429. No. (4) was printed by Chalmers, *Apology*, 500, together with another text of (2) and letters from Sir Edward Conway to the Privy Council of August 12 and 27, doubtless from the originals which now form *S. P. Dom. James I*, clxxi. 39, 64, 75. Having apparently failed to notice (3) Chalmers treated 'Edward' as a mistake for 'Thomas'. This error was corrected and (1) and (3) cited by T. Hornby in *The Shakespeare Society's Papers*, ii. 103. Collier, i. 427, apparently only copied Chalmers's material, but being ignorant of its source, he assumed it to be the Register and stated that the correspondence between Conway and the Council was there 'inserted at length'. No. (3) was printed by A. H. Bullen, *Works of Thomas Middleton*, i. lxxviii. No. (1) and no. (2), so far as the Register text is concerned, seem now to be printed for the first time. The play in question was Middleton's *A Game of Chess*. A letter of August 12 on the subject written by Sir Francis Nethersole is in *S. P. Dom. James I*, clxxi. 49. Collier, i. 431, prints another as written by the Earl of Pembroke to the Council on August 27.

He states it to be 'in the library of F. Ouvry, Esq.' Unfortunately he had previously cited it, in his *New Particulars* (1836), 49, as being in the State Paper Office, and the failure to find it there threw doubt upon its genuineness (C.M. Ingleby, *A Complete View of the Shakspeare Controversy*, 314). The doubt was unfounded, and the original is now preserved, with other Collier papers, in the British Museum (MS. *Egerton*, 2623, art. 17).]

## (1)

[Sitting of 18 August 1624.]

A warrant directed to Ralph Robinson one of the Messengers of his ma<sup>ty</sup>: Chamber to bring [*blank*] Middleton before the LLo:<sup>pps</sup> to answer &c. /

## (2)

[Sitting of 21 August 1624.]

At Ire to M<sup>r</sup> Sec: Conway

After &c Accordinge to his Ma<sup>ty</sup>: pleasure signified to this Board by yo<sup>r</sup> lre of the 12<sup>th</sup> of Aug: touching the suppressing of a Scandalous Comedie, Acted by the Kings Players, We haue called before vs some of the principall Actors & demanded of them by what lycence and Authoritie, they have p'sumed to Act the same, in answeare wherevnto they produced a Booke being an Orriginall and perfect Coppie thereof (as they affirmed) seene and allowed by S<sup>r</sup> Henry Herbert k<sup>t</sup> M<sup>r</sup> of the Reuells vnder his owne hand, and subscribed in the last page of the said Booke We demanding further whether there were noe other pt<sup>y</sup> or Passages represented on the Stage, then those expressly contayned in the Booke, they confidently protested, they added or varied from the same, nothing at all The Poett they tell vs is one Middleton who shifting out of the way, and not attending the Board w<sup>th</sup> the rest, as was expected We haue giuen warrant to a Messeng<sup>r</sup> for the Apprehending of him. To those that were before vs, we gaue a sound and sharpe reprooff making them sensible of his Ma<sup>ty</sup> high displeasure herein, giving them straight Charg and Comand, that they presume not to Act the said Comedie any more, nor that they suffer any Plaie or

Enterlude whatsoever to be acted by them or any of their Company, vntill his Ma<sup>ty</sup>: pleasure be furder knowne. We haue Caused them lykewise to enter into Bond for their Attendance vpon the Board, whensoever they shalbe called, As for our Certifying to his Ma: (as was intimated by yo<sup>r</sup> lfe) what passagye in the said Comedie we should fynd to be Offensiue and Scandalous, we have thought it our duties for his Ma<sup>ty</sup>: Clearer informaçon, to send herew<sup>th</sup>all the Booke it selfe subscribed as afforesaid by the M<sup>r</sup> of the Revells, that soe ither yo<sup>r</sup> selfe, or some other whom his Ma<sup>tie</sup> shall appoint to puse the same, may see the passages themselues out of the Orriginall, and call S<sup>r</sup> Henry Herbert before yo<sup>a</sup> to know a reason of his lycensing thereof who (as we are given to vnderstand) is now attending at Court, soe having doone as much, as we conceived agreeable w<sup>th</sup> our duties in Conformitie to his Ma<sup>ties</sup>: Royall Comandem<sup>ts</sup>., and that w<sup>ch</sup> we hope shall giue him full satisfacçon, We shall contynue our humble prayers to Almighty God for his health and safetie. And bid yo<sup>a</sup> very &c./

(3)

[Sitting of 30 August 1624.]

A warrant directed to Robert Goffe one of the Messengers of his Ma<sup>ty</sup>: Chamber to bring one Midleton sonne to Midleton the Poet before their Llo:<sup>ps</sup> to answer &c.

(4)

[Sitting of 30 August 1624.]

This daie Edw: Middleton of London gent, being formerly sent for by warrant from the Board tendred his Apparaunce, w<sup>ch</sup> for his Indempnitie is here entred into the Register of Councell Causes nevertheless he is enioyned to attend the Board, till he be discharged by Order from their lo<sup>pp</sup>s./

## XII

[1626, May 17. From *P. C. Register, Charles I*, i, fol. 334<sup>b</sup>. Printed, and misdated '25<sup>th</sup> May', by Collier, i. 445.]

[Sitting of 17 May 1626.]

Letter to the Iustices of the peace of the County of Surrey. /

Whereas wee are informed that on thursday next, diuers loose and Idle persons, some Saylor, and others, haue appointed to meete at the Playhouse called the Globe, to see a Play (as is pretended) but their ende is thereby to disguise some Routous and Riotous accon, we haue therefore thought fit to giue yo<sup>w</sup>, notice of the informacon which we haue receiued concerning this their purpose, And doe likewise hereby will and require yo<sup>w</sup>, to take very carefull and strict order, that no Play be acted on that day, and also to haue that strength about yo<sup>w</sup>, as yo<sup>w</sup> shall thinke sufficient for the suppressing of anie insolencies, or other mutinous intensions, that yo<sup>w</sup> shall perceiue, and to take with yo<sup>w</sup> the vnder sheriffe of that County, for the further assisting of yo<sup>w</sup>, if there be cause, And so not doubting of yo<sup>r</sup> care herein. Wee Etc. /

## XIII

[1630, April 14. From *P. C. Register, Charles I*, v. 752. Not previously printed; but the order of which the entry is an abstract, as well as a supplementary order of April 23, not recorded in the Register, was printed from the *City Remembrance* at p. 96 of these *Collections*.]

[Sitting of 14 April 1630.]

It was this day ordered by the Board, in regard of the great apprehension and appearaunce of the increase of the Sicknes; that all Stage Playes, Bearebeatings, and all manner of Assemblies for sporty or Pastimes, shall bee forbidden; and their Lops: doe hereby pray and require the Lord Chamblaine

of his Ma<sup>ty</sup>. household, to take effectuall order, to suppress and prohibite the same accordingly.

## XIV

[1623, June 8. From *P. C. Register, Charles I.* viii. 71. Not previously printed.]

[Letter dated 8 June 1632.]

A Lfe to Sr: Henry Spiller K<sup>t</sup>: Lawrence Whitacars, and George Long Esq<sup>r</sup>: & others Iustices of peace of the County of Middl./

Wheras the high way leading a long the backside of the Cockpitt playhouse neere Lincolnes Inne Feilds, and the streete called Queenes streete adioyneing to the same, are become verie fowle and almost impassable, And for that the said high way by reason of the new buildings, now erecting there, is become a streete, through w<sup>ch</sup>: his ma<sup>tie</sup>: and o<sup>r</sup>: selues and divers of his Subiects doe often passe. And therefore it is verie necessarie & fitt that the same should be paved w<sup>th</sup>: stones, as other Streetes are. We haue therefore thought good hereby to pray and require you, or anie three of you, to call all such psons before you, as haue any Grounds or houses abutting vpon the said high way, and the said streete called Queenes Streete; And to make reasonable assesmt<sup>t</sup>: vpon them towards the pauem<sup>t</sup>: of the same, according to the pporcion of Ground or buildings, that everie of the said owners and Inhabitants hold. And thervpon to enioyne them and everie of them, to pave or gravill, and lay even the said high way and streete, w<sup>th</sup> all convenient speede. And further we doe alsoe require you, to giue charge to all the said Inhabitants, that they sett not any Rayles, or Posts, aboue fiue or six foote at the most from their houses or walls, And alsoe that none doe lay either Stones or Tymber in the Streete, to hinder the said passages. And if any shall refuse, to conforme themselves to such order, as you shall sett downe for the effecting hereof, you are then to certifie their

names to the Board, that such further Course may be taken w<sup>th</sup> them as shalbe fitt. And soe &c: Signed vt ante.

[i. e. Lord Keeper.	Ea of Kelley
Lo: Bp of Yorke.	M <sup>r</sup> : Sec <sup>r</sup> e Coke.
Lo: Priuie Seale.	Ea: of Bridgwater.
Ea of Exeter	Ea of Danby /].

## XV

[1633, May 22 and June 3 and 8. From *P. C. Register, Charles I*, ix. 51, 52, 85, 87. Nos. (1) and (4) were printed, the latter being misdated 'June 4<sup>th</sup>', and the other entries described, by Collier, i. 474. He also prints the letter of May 6 from the Banbury Justices. This is preserved, together with twelve enclosed 'Examinations' in *S. P. Dom. Charles I*, ccxxxviii. 32.]

(1)

[Sitting of 22 May 1633.]

A L<sup>r</sup>e to the Mayo<sup>r</sup>. of Banbury

Wee haue scene yo<sup>r</sup>. L<sup>r</sup>es of the 6<sup>th</sup> of this Instant moneth as also a Patent of Licence pretended to be graunted by his Ma<sup>tie</sup>., a Comission from the Master of the Reuells, and the examinaçons of those Delinquents being (as you say) wandering Roagues, and daungerous persons; And as we concurr with you in opinion that there may be forgerie, and rasure both in the said Patent and comission so wee doe approue and Comend the discreete cou<sup>r</sup>se you haue taken in comitting them to the co<sup>m</sup>on prison of yo<sup>r</sup>. Burrough Now to the end that this abuse may be farther searched into and examined; wee doe hereby require and authorise you to cause Iones, and the rest of his complices (being fve more) that are detained vnder restraint, to be released, and forthwith deliuered to this bearer Robert Cross one of the Messingers of his Ma<sup>ty</sup> Chamber, who hath warrant from this Board to receiue them at yo<sup>r</sup>. hands, and to bring them hether to answere before vs for the crymes and misdemeanors, where-with they stand charged, and therevpon to be pceeded withall

acording to the qualitie of their offences and the Common Lawes and Iustice of this Kingdome. And so &c<sup>t</sup>. signed Lo: Keeper. Lo: Privie Seale. Lo: high: Chamblaine. Ea: of Dorset Ea: of Bridgewater. Ea: of Danby Lo: Visc: Wentworth Lo Visc: ffalkland. Lo: Cottington: Lo: Newburgh Mr Sec<sup>r</sup> Windebanke.

(2)

[Same Sitting.]

An Open Warrant with a clause of Assistance directed to Robert Cross to fetch Bartholomew Iones, Richard Whiting, Edward Dampert, Drew Turnor, Robert Haughton, and Richard Collwell (now in prison at Banbury,) before their Lo<sup>ps</sup>: signed as the pass for Mons<sup>r</sup>. Sonnburgh. [i. e. Lo: Keeper, Lo: Privie Seale. Ea: of Dorset Ea: of Bridgewater Lo: Visc: Wentworth. Lo: Cottington, Mr Sec<sup>r</sup>: Windebank Lo: high Chamblaine Ea: of Danby Lo: Visc: ffalkland. Lo: Newburgh]

(3)

[Sitting of 3 June 1633.]

This day Bartholomewe Iones, Rich: Iohnson, Edward Dauenport, True Turner, Robert Haughton, & Rich: Colwell being formerly sent for by Warrant from the Board tendered theire Appearances, and are to remayne in the Messengers Custodie till further order./

(4)

[Sitting of 8 June 1633.]

This day the Players form'ly sent for from Banbury were discharged out of the Messeng<sup>rs</sup>. custody vpon Bond giuen to be forthcoming whensoeu' they should be called for./



## XVI

[1633, October 9, November 20 and 29, and December 29. From *P. C. Register, Charles I.* ix. 267, 343, 355, 417. No. (1) is printed and nos. (2) (3) and (4) described by Collier, i. 476. No. (2) is printed, from a copy preserved amongst the City *Remembrancia*, at p. 98 of these *Collections*. Collier also reprinted from his *New Facts* (1835), 27, a certificate of 20 Nov. 1633, signed by Henry Spiller, William Baker, Humphrey Smith, Lawrence Whitaker, and William Childe, there described as Justices of Middlesex, and containing a valuation of the interest of the players in the Blackfriars, as required by (1). C. M. Ingleby, *Complete View of the Shakspeare Controversy*, 304, suspected this on the ground that it could not be found at Bridgewater House. But Collier does not say that it was there: he says that it was in his own possession, and in his *Reply* (1860), 39, that it was confirmed by another document given him from Bridgewater House and partly written by Sir George Buck. It is unfortunate that Sir George Buck had been for ten years dead by 1633. Nevertheless I think that the certificate is genuine, for various reasons, the most important of which is that its main figures are confirmed by Sir Francis Windebank's notes of the Council meeting of 20 Nov. preserved in *S. P. Dom. Charles I.* ccli, p. 293, but apparently unknown to Collier.]

## (1)

[Sitting of 9 October 1633.]

Touching the Vpon Consideraçon this day had at the Board  
Playhouse in of the greate inconvenience and annoyance  
Black Fraires. occasioned by the Resorte and Confluence of  
Coaches to the Play house in Black ffryers  
Whereby the Streetes being narrow thereabouts are at those  
tymes become impassable, to the greate p<sup>r</sup>iudice of his ma<sup>ty</sup>:  
Subiects passing that way vpon their seuerall occaçons and  
in p<sup>t</sup>icular to divers Noblemen, and Councello<sup>r</sup>: of State  
whose howses are that way, Wherby they are many tymes  
hindred from their necessary attendance vpon his ma<sup>ty</sup>: p<sup>er</sup>son  
and service. Their Lopps calling to mynde that formerly  
vpon Complaint hereof made, the Board was of opinion, that  
the said Play house was fitt to be remoued from thence,  
and that an indifferrent Recompence & allowance should be  
giuen them for their Interests in the said house, and buildings  
thervnto belonging. Did therefore thinke fitt and order, that  
Sr: Henry Spiller and Sr: William Becher K<sup>ts</sup>: the Alderman of

the Ward Lawrence Whitaker Esq<sup>r</sup>: and [blank] Child Citizen of London, or any three of them be hereby required to call such of the pties interested before them, as they shall thinke fitt and vpon heareing their demaunds, and viewe of the place, to make an indifferent Estimate and valewe of the said house and buildings, and of their Interests therein, and to agree vpon, and sett downe such Recompence to be giuen for the same, as shall be reasonable, and thervpon to make Report to the Board of their docings and pceedings therein by the 26: of this p<sup>r</sup>sent.

(2)

[Sitting of 20 November 1633.]

About going to Whereas y<sup>e</sup> Board hath taken consideraçon of  
 y<sup>e</sup> Black ffryars the great inconveniēces that growe by reason  
 Play house in of the resort to the Play house of y<sup>e</sup> Black-ffryars  
 Coaches , in Coaches, whereby the streets neare there-  
 unto, are at the Playtime so stopped that  
 his Ma<sup>ty</sup> Subiects going about their necessarie affayres can  
 hardly finde passage and are oftentimes endangered: Their  
 f<sup>r</sup>s remembring that there is an easie passage by water vnto  
 that playhouse w<sup>th</sup>out troubling the streets, and that it is much  
 more fit and reasonable that those w<sup>ch</sup> goe thither should goe  
 thither by water or else on foote rather than the necessarie  
 businesses of all others, and the publike Commerce should  
 be disturbed by their pleasure, doe therefore Order, that i  
 anie pson man or woman of what Condiçon soever repaire to  
 the aforesayd Playhouse in Coach so soone as they are gone  
 out of their Coaches the Coach men shall departe thence and  
 not retourne till the ende of the play, nor shall stay or retourne  
 to fetch those whom they carryed anie nearer w<sup>th</sup> their Coache  
 then the farther parte of S<sup>t</sup> Pauls Church yarde on the on  
 syde, and ffeet-Conduite on the other syde, and in y<sup>e</sup> tym  
 betweene their departure and returne shall either returne hom  
 or else abide in some other streets lesse frequented wit  
 passengers and so range their Coaches in those places that th

way be not stopped, w<sup>ch</sup> Order if anie Coachman disobey, the next Constable or Officer is hereby charged to comit him p<sup>r</sup>sently to Ludgate or Newgate; And the Lo: Mayor of y<sup>e</sup> Citie of London is required to see this carefully p<sup>r</sup>fourmed by the Conestables and Officers to whom it apperteyneth and to punish every such Conestable or officer as shall be found negligent therein. And to the ende that none may p<sup>r</sup>tende ignorance hereof, it is lastly ordered that Copies of this Order, shalbe set vp at Paules Chaine, by direction of the Lorde Mayor, also at the west ende of S<sup>t</sup> Paules Church, at Ludgate and the Blackfryers Gate and Fleete Conduite./

(3)

[Sitting of 29 November 1633.]

A Lre to the Lo: Mayor of London/

Wee send yo<sup>r</sup> Lp'. hērew<sup>th</sup> an order of this Board for redresing of the inconveniences that growe by reeson of the greate résorte in Coaches to the play house in the Black-fryers, w<sup>th</sup> [sic] order wee doe here by pray and earnestly require yo<sup>r</sup> lp' to see fully and diligently executed in every point there of, and so much the rather in regarde it is of no lesse vnsemelinessse to the Citie then of trouble and annoyance to his Ma<sup>t<sup>y</sup></sup>. subiecty. And so expecting yo<sup>r</sup> Lp's performance of these our directions, we bid yo<sup>r</sup> [sic] Ec, Signed Lo Archb: of Cant. Lo: Keeper, Lo Archb: of Yorke, Lo: Treas<sup>r</sup>., Lo: Priuie-Seale, Erle Marshall, Lo visc: wimbledon. M<sup>r</sup>. Treasurer, M<sup>r</sup>. Sec<sup>r</sup>et: Coke. M<sup>r</sup>. Sec<sup>r</sup>et: Windebanck./

(4)

[Sitting of 29 December 1633.]

Ordered the 29<sup>th</sup>: the King &c being present.

Touching the Vpon Informaçon this day giuen to the Board Playhouse in of the discomoditie that diuers psons of greate Blackfryers. quality especially Ladies and Gentlewomen, did receiue in goeing to the Playhouse of Blackfriers, by reason that noe Coaches may stand w<sup>th</sup>in the

Blackfriars Gate or retourne thither dureing the Play, and of the p'iudice the Players his ma<sup>ts</sup>: Servants doe receiue therby. But especially that the Streetes are soe much the more incumberred w<sup>th</sup> the said Coaches. The Board takeing into Consideraçon the former order of the 20<sup>th</sup>: of Nouember last concerning this busines, did thinke fitt to explaine the said order, in such manner that as many Coaches as may stand w<sup>th</sup>in the Blackfriars Gate, may may [sic] enter and stay ther, or retourne thither at the end of the Play, but that the said former order of the 20<sup>th</sup> of Nouemb<sup>r</sup>: be duly observed in all other pts. Whereof aswell the Lord Mayo<sup>r</sup>: as all other his ma<sup>ts</sup>: officers who are prayed and required to see the said order observed are to take notice./

## XVII

[1634, January 29. From *P. C. Register, Charles I*, ix. 458. Printed, not from the Register, but from a copy amongst the *City Remembrancia*, at p. 99 of these *Collections*. The mask was Shirley's *Triumph of Peace*.]

[Letter dated 29 January 1633/4.]

A Lre to the Lord Mayo<sup>r</sup>. of the Cittie of London

Whereas the gentlemen of the Inns of Courts, haue desired permission to present to their Ma<sup>ty</sup>. a Mask, w<sup>ch</sup>. his Ma<sup>ty</sup>. out of his Royall fauor towards them, hath ben graciously pleased to accept, and it is to be performed in the begining of the next weeke. To the end they may haue the better and fairer way in their passage towards his Ma<sup>ty</sup>. Court, and likewise to preuent all disorders, and disturbances, w<sup>ch</sup>. in the like cases vsually happen, by the concourse of vnruely people. wee doe therefore hereby pray and expressly require your Lo<sup>p</sup>. to take present and effectuall order, that the Streetes, through w<sup>ch</sup>. they are to pass especially Aldersgate Streete, be very well cleansed, against Munday night next, at the farthest, and a very good and carefull watch, kept by the Constable, and better sort of Cittizens them-

selues, as well with in the Cittie it selfe, as with in that part of the liberties, that lyeth that way, And so &c<sup>er</sup>. signed

Lo: Archbp. of Cant'

Ea: of Bridgewater

Lo: Keeper

Lo: Cotington

Lo: Archbp. of York

Mr. Trear

Lo: Privie Seale

Mr. Comptrollr.

Ea: Marshall

Mr. Sec<sup>r</sup> Coke

Mr. Secr: windebank

Two other L<sup>res</sup> of the like tenor directed to the Iustices of the Peace of the Countie of Midd<sup>x</sup>, and Cittie of westminster dated and signed vt ante:—

## XVIII

[1636, March 29. From *P. C. Register, Charles I.* xii. 59. Printed by Collier, ii. 10.]

[Letter dated 28 March 1636.]

### A Letter to the Mayor of Canterburie

By yo<sup>r</sup> Letter of the 25<sup>th</sup> of this Moneth sent vnto o<sup>r</sup> verie good Lord the Lo Arch Bishop of Canterbury his Grace, Wee vnderstand w<sup>th</sup> what respect yo<sup>n</sup> proceeded w<sup>th</sup> the Players that lately came to that Citty, in regard of his Ma<sup>ty</sup>: Commission w<sup>th</sup> they carried, and wee likewise take notice not onely of the disorders occasioned by their playinge at so vnseasonable a time in the night, but also of their insolent behavio<sup>r</sup> to yo<sup>r</sup> selfe, for w<sup>th</sup> they deserue punishment, and shall smart when they shalbee met w<sup>th</sup>all, to w<sup>ch</sup> purpose wee pray yo<sup>n</sup> to advertize the names of some of the Chiefest of their Company that further inquiry may bee here made after them; And as wee cannot but commend the great Care yo<sup>n</sup> haue expressed in the good & orderly government of that Citty, so wee must let yo<sup>n</sup> knowe to yo<sup>r</sup> encouragement, that his Ma<sup>ty</sup>: beinge by his Grace made acquainted w<sup>th</sup> yo<sup>r</sup> Carriage in this particular hath Comanded vs to giue yo<sup>n</sup> notice of his graçous acceptance thereof; And for the future if

any Stageplayers shall come to play in yo<sup>r</sup> Citty in the time of Lent yo<sup>a</sup> are not to giue way vnto it, w<sup>th</sup>out the speciall privity of his Grace of Canterbury. And so &c. dated the 29<sup>th</sup>: of March

Signed

Lo Keeper  
Lo Arch B<sup>pp</sup> of Yorke  
Lo Treasurer  
Lo Privie Seale

Lo Newburgh  
M<sup>r</sup> Comptroller  
M<sup>r</sup> Sec: Coke  
M<sup>r</sup> Sec Windebanke.

## XIX

[1636, May 10. From *P. C. Register*, Charles I, xii. 144. No. (1) is described, but not printed, by Collier, ii. 9. Sir Henry Herbert notes in his office book the receipt of a warrant from the Lord Chamberlain, and his transmission of it to 'the four companys of players' on May 12 (*Variorum*, iii. 239).]

(1)

[Sitting of 10 May 1636.]

To suppress His ma<sup>tie</sup>: being this day p<sup>r</sup>sent in Councell, & Playes. taking into considera<sup>o</sup>n how dangerous it mought be in theise tymes of Infec<sup>o</sup>n to suffer the vsuall Assemblies and confluence of people at Play houses ; Hath thought fitt and ordered that the Lo: Chamblaine of the Queens ma<sup>ties</sup>: Household, should be hereby prayed & required to cause the Players, that are her ma<sup>ties</sup>: Servants to forbear all Stage Playes & other Enterludes whatsoever vntill further order. /

(2)

[Same sitting.]

To suppress His ma<sup>tie</sup>: being this day p<sup>r</sup>sent in Councell, & taking into Considera<sup>o</sup>n how dangerous it mought be in theise tymes of Infec<sup>o</sup>n to suffer the vsuall Assemblies and Confluence of people at Play houses Showes & other Spectacles Haue thought fitt and ordered, that the Lo

Chamblaine of his ma<sup>tes</sup>: Househould should be hereby prayed & required to cause all Stage Playes, Enterludes, Showes & Spectacles whatsoever, to be forthw<sup>th</sup> suppressed vntill further order. /

## XX

[1637, March 1. From *P. C. Register, Charles I*, xii. 211. Described by Collier, ii. 15. Sir Henry Herbert noted in his office book, 'On thursday morning the 23 of February the bill of the plague made the number at forty foure, upon which decrease the king gave the players their liberty, and they began the 24 February 1636 . . . The plague encreasinge, the players laye still untill the 2 of October, when they had leave to play. Mr. Beeston was commanded to make a company of boyes, and began to play at the Cockpitt with them the same day' (*Variorum*, iii. 239). Cf. No. XXII.]

[Sitting of 1 March 1636/7.]

Playes &c. An order to suppress Playes, dancing on the  
suppressed Ropes &c: of the tenor of that entered the 10<sup>th</sup> of  
May last. /

## XXI

[1637, May 12. From *P. C. Register, Charles I*, xiii. 403. Described by Collier, ii. 15. The offending players were probably 'Beeston's boys'; cf. note on No. XX, and p. 346 of these *Collections*. J. T. Murray, *English Dramatic Companies*, i. 367, quotes an undated petition by Christopher Beeston from *S. P. Dom. Charles I*, cccxxxix. 7, probably intended as an apology for this offence.]

[Sitting of 12 May 1637.]

A warrant to Iaspar Heyley Messenger to fetch before the Lords Christopher and W<sup>m</sup>. Biston Theophil Bird Ezech: Fenn & Michael Moone w<sup>th</sup> a Clause to Command the Keepers of the Playhouse called the Cockpit in Drury Lane who either live in it or have rela<sup>cion</sup> to it not to permit Playes to bee Acted there till further Order. Dated y<sup>e</sup> 12<sup>th</sup> Signed Lo A Bp of Cant Lo Keeper Lo: Treasrer, Lo P: Seale Mr Sec Coke. /

## XXII

[1637, September 17, 24. From *P. C. Register, Charles I.* xiv. 215, 222, 227. Not previously printed; but cf. the extract from Sir Henry Herbert's office book in the note to No. XX.]

(1)

[Sitting of 17 September 1637.]

Whereas Christopher Beeston their Ma<sup>ties</sup>: Servaunt did by his humble Petiçon presented to the Boord shewe that having many young Actors lying at his Charge a long time vnpractised by reason of y<sup>e</sup> restraint occasioned by y<sup>e</sup> Infecçon of y<sup>e</sup> plague in and neare London, whereby they are much disabled to performe their desired Service, And therefore humbly besought that they might have leave to practise for y<sup>e</sup> better performance of their duties, when they shalbee commanded. It was therevpon Ordered his Ma<sup>tie</sup>: present in Councell that the said Beeston should bee at libertie to practise his said Actors, at Michaelmas next, if by that time there bee noe considerable encrease of the Sicknesse, or that there dye not of y<sup>e</sup> Infecçon in and about London more then there died this last weeke./

(2)

[Sitting of 24 September 1637.]

Whereas her Ma<sup>ty</sup>s Players did by their humble Petiçon shew, that by reason of the Infecçon of the Plague in and neare about London they have for a long time, almost to their vtter vndoing (having noe other Employment nor meanes to maintaine themselves and their families) been restrayned from vsing their quallity, And therefore humbly besought their Lo<sup>pps</sup> to bee restored to their former Liberty. It was therevpon Ordered (his Ma<sup>tie</sup>: present in Councell) that her Ma<sup>ty</sup>s: said Players should bee at liberty to play at Michaelmas next, if by that time there bee noe considerable encrease nor that there dye not



of the Infeccon in and about London, more then there died this last weeke. /

(3)

[Same sitting of 24 September 1637.]

Ordered y<sup>e</sup> 17<sup>th</sup> of September 1637./

His Ma<sup>ty</sup> Servants y<sup>e</sup> Players having, by reason of the Infeccon of the Plague in and neare London, been for a long time restrained and having now spent what they got in many yeares before and soe not able any longer to subsist & mainfeine their families did by their Petiçon to his Ma<sup>ty</sup>: most humbly desire leave to bee now at libertie to vse their quality. It was therevpon this day Ordered (his Ma<sup>ty</sup>: present in Councell) that y<sup>e</sup> said Players should bee at liberty to play at Michmas next, if, by that time there bee noe considerable encrease of the Sicknesse nor that there dye not of y<sup>e</sup> infeccon in and about London more then there died this last weeke. /

## XXIII

[1639, September 29. From *P. C. Register, Charles I*, xvi. 653. Printed by Chalmers, *Apology*, 504, from a copy in *S. P. Dom. Charles I*, cccxxix. 51, 52. This has a slightly different text, which includes a reference to 'Some of the aldermen' of the City of London as having been libelled as well as the proctors, and is accompanied by a note of 'Exceptions' taken against the play, from which it appears that it was called *The Whore New Vamped*, and that 'Cain', i.e. Andrew Cane, of Prince Charles's men, was a performer in it.]

[Sitting of 29 September 1639.]

Whereas complaint was this day made to his Ma<sup>ty</sup>: sitting in Councell, that the Stage Players of the Red Bull haue lately for many dayes to gether acted a scandalous and Libellous play wherein they haue audaciously reproached, and in a Libellous manner traduced and personated some persons of quality, and scandalized, and defamed the whole profession of Proctors

belonging to the Courte of the Ciuill Lawe, and reflected vpon the present Governm<sup>t</sup>. It was Ordered, that M<sup>r</sup>. Atturney Generall should bee hereby prayed, and required forthw<sup>th</sup>. to call before him not onely the Poet that made the said Play, and the Actors that played the same, but also the person who licensed it, and haueing diligently examined the trueth of the said complaint to proceed roundly against such of them as hee shall find to haue bin faulty, and to vse such effectuall expediçon to bring them to Sentence, as that their exemplary punishm<sup>t</sup>. may preuent such insolences betymes. /

## XXIV

[1640, September 11. From *P. C. Register, Charles I*, xvii. 725. Printed by Collier, ii. 34, but apparently from a copy other than that in the Register.]

[Sitting of 11 September 1640.]

Whereas the Infecçon of the Plague doeth much increase in and about London and it is very dangerous to permit any Company or concourse of people to meete and assemble together at Play-houses. It was therefore this day Ordered at y<sup>e</sup> Boord that all Players, both their Ma<sup>ts</sup> Servants and others as also the Keepers of Paris Garden bee hereby commanded and required forthw<sup>th</sup> to shut vp their Play houses, and not to exercise or play in any of them or in any other place w<sup>th</sup>in y<sup>e</sup> Citty or Suburbs of London till it shall please God to cease the Infecçon and that further Order shalbee given by the Boord. Hereof all the Masters and Actors of the said Playhouses are to take notice and to conforme themselves as they will answere it at their perills. /

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